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EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1400-1600

Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens

EDITED BY

KOEN GOUDRIAAN, JAAP VAN MOOLENBROEK
AND AD TERVOORT



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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

On 30 September 2001 Prof Hilde de Ridder-Symoens said farewell to the Department of Medieval History at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Having chaired the department for fifteen years, she decided to accept the chair in Early Modern History at the University of Ghent. In recognition of her contribution to the field of history at the 'VU', Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek and Ad Tervoort took on the task of editing a 'Festschrift'. As the news of her departure from the Vrije Universiteit came at rather short notice, it was also decided to organize a symposium in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens' honour. During this symposium, held at the Vrije Universiteit on 27 September 2001, shortened first drafts of a number of articles that appear here were presented. As hers was a farewell to the Vrije Universiteit only and by no means a farewell to academia, the editors have only invited those scholars who have worked closely with Hilde de Ridder-Symoens at the Vrije Universiteit to contribute. The editors asked contributors to address a theme at the heart of Hilde's expertise, 'Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400–1600'. The choice of this theme also gives a cohesion to the book, which is sometimes lacking in a Festschrift. The response was impressive, this volume its result. Seventeen colleagues and pupils, who have worked together with Hilde at the Vrije Universiteit, have written sixteen articles in her honour.

Editing a multi-author volume in a foreign language is a daunting task. The editors would like to express their gratitude to the authors for their enthusiasm, their prompt responses, their flexibility and, above all, their patience. Sadly, one of the contributors, Dr Samme Zijlstra of the Fryske Akademy, will not be able to see his article in print. His untimely death in the autumn of 2001 prevented him from completing revisions to his article, which he had already started. The editors would like to thank Dr Wiebe Bergsma of the Fryske Akademy for providing the editors with the notes and corrections of Samme Zijlstra, which have been used for the final, albeit unfinished, draft of his article.

Most articles had to be translated into English, while the contributions originally written in English benefited from correction. The

editors would like to show gratitude to Dr Henk Aertsen, Dr Christien Franken, Dr Ide Kearney, and Dr Thea Summerfield for their translations and corrections of the articles.

The editors also gladly acknowledge the subsidies granted by the translation fund of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW), the Van Coeverden Adriani Stichting at the Vrije Universiteit, and the Faculty of Arts of the Vrije Universiteit. Their generosity has made the translation and correction process possible.

The editors are grateful to the publisher, Koninklijke Brill, in particular to Prof Arjo Vanderjagt, the series editor, for including this volume in 'Brill's Studies in Intellectual History'.

This volume is dedicated to Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, in gratitude for the years of her inspiring presence in our midst. We trust that she will accept it as a token of appreciation and esteem from all those colleagues and pupils who contributed to it. It is our sincere hope that she will find the contents both stimulating and enjoyable.

Koen Goudriaan
Jaap van Moolenbroek
Ad Tervoort

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INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1400–1600

This volume, written in honour of Prof Dr Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, brings together contributions by specialists from different fields of expertise. All contributors have concentrated on the theme of 'Education and Learning in the Netherlands' in the period 1400–1600. In first instance this means that they have addressed the question of how knowledge was acquired, structured and brought into play in the context of society in the Netherlands—and in some cases of people from the Netherlands abroad—in these two pivotal centuries. Under this broad title a number of interesting aspects of late-medieval and early modern culture in the Netherlands will be dealt with, closely related to the two intertwined concepts of education and learning. Against the background of a rich historiographical tradition,¹ the articles in this volume will contribute to further insight into this theme as well as highlight a number of developments that were particular to the region.

In European history these two centuries have been referred to as 'pivotal' in a number of ways, even considered an era in itself. Apart from the political and socio-economic developments, the epoch has been labelled with the epithet of 'Renaissance and Reformation'.² The term 'pivotal' equally applies to the history of the Low Countries in these centuries. They mark the era in which the various principalities within the Netherlands grew closer together as a result of Burgundian-Habsburg policies of centralization, and subsequently split as a result of the Dutch Revolt, leading to the birth of the Republic. At the same time these regions strengthened their position in the European economic system, making the western parts of the Low Countries an economic power house second only to Northern Italy.

¹ The bibliography gives a—by no means exhaustive—overview of historiography.

² Consider the title of the recent handbook: Oberman, Brady and Tracy (eds.), *History Handbook of European history, 1400–1600. Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. See also the discussion of the concepts of 'Renaissance and Reformation' in the introduction.

This economic core area was of course urban-based: another significant development, which took place in the centuries under investigation, was the rise of a civic society, mainly at the level of towns and cities. Economic growth—and the misfortunes concomitant with its reverse—triggered social mobility of ever new categories and layers within the population, at the same time threatening the positions of those who had risen to prominence in an earlier phase.

In the area of 'Education and Learning' the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are of considerable importance. In 1400 the Netherlands were still awaiting the foundation of its first university. By 1600 there were four of which Louvain (1425) and Leiden, the 'Athens of the North', (1575) could lay claim to international fame. If one may believe the often quoted testimony by Lodovico Guicciardini that the Netherlands counted many learned men well versed in the sciences and arts and that all, even country people, could at least read and write,³ developments in learning and education seem to have run parallel with those in the economy.⁴

The present volume tries to add to the current state of research into this topic in several ways. A deliberate attempt has been made to make this an interdisciplinary volume. It contains contributions dealing with specific areas of general history and history of art, but also of Dutch and Neo-Latin literature. A plethora of sources, some of which have been neglected hitherto in scholarly research, are used to enrich our understanding of certain aspects of 'Education and Learning'. The way scholars from fields other than the history of education approach the topic introduces questions from a new and unexpected angle.

In addition, this volume attempts to utilize research tactics that so far have not been applied very often to this broader subject. Central to these tactics is prosopography (or collective biography). Over the last three decades this method has made a definite impact on the historical profession in general, including the history of education. Many important prosopographical contributions to this field have appeared in the last thirty years, in which the efforts of Hilde

³ Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione . . . di tutti Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferiore* (Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1567).

⁴ Very interesting in this context is: Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam*, who presents us with a portrait of Amsterdam's rise in the international economy as partially based on its prime position as an 'information society'.

de Ridder-Symoens, both as a researcher and as a supervisor, have played a leading part. More than a few contributions in this volume have their basis in prosopographical studies. Whereas these earlier investigations addressed extensive populations in their entirety, contributors now have chosen to shift the focus of their research and to concentrate on smaller segments, in an attempt to show that network analysis and the in-depth study of micro-populations can sharpen our view and deepen our understanding of the ways in which acquired learning functioned and was transmitted in society.

Growth and diversification

From the point of view of contents, the various articles not only make their individual contribution to the body of scholarly research in this wider field, but they also address a number of crucial developments in the period 1400–1600. These two centuries showed enormous ‘progress’ in terms of education in the Netherlands. The pioneering study of R.R. Post of 1954 has made clear that schools and education certainly became a widespread phenomenon in the Northern Netherlands.⁵ The highly urbanized provinces of the Netherlands developed a dense network of different types of education, which included the university level due to the foundation of the University of Louvain.

At the local level, the primary place among schools was taken by those that had previously belonged to either collegiate or parish churches. The fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a marked increase in influence of city governments on the management and administration of these schools. Education in Latin schools more and more became a ‘public’ affair. But town and parish schools did not remain the only type of education available. In order to meet the ever increasing demand for education at different levels, formulated by continually emerging new categories of ‘consumers’, new types of institutions arose, some of them resembling the formal schools which were already in existence, while other ones fulfilled their task in a new and more informal way.

⁵ Post, *Scholen*.

In the formal field, a variety of schools called *bijsscholen* came into being, despite numerous attempts by city governments to clamp down on this development and to preserve the monopoly of the schools under their command. Certain sections of society preferred a type of education differing from the traditional arts curriculum and geared towards more practical, even technical training, the so-called *walssche schoelen* (French schools). The classic study of Post, whose interpretation has been generally followed by historians of education, has given rise to the idea that the teaching of bookkeeping was an established practice in a number of cities and towns in the Northern Netherlands from the early sixteenth century onwards. By re-examining the sources and incorporating a wider view of the socio-economic context, Karel Davids manages to thoroughly reinterpret the developments in sixteenth century teaching of 'merchant skills'. Moreover, it is clear that the appearance of these 'bijsscholen' meant more than the mere appearance of schools where French or Dutch constituted the bulk of the programme. Though Post argued that it was the humanists who alongside city governments tried to counter competing Latin schoolmasters, a private school could offer schoolmasters a stage where they could teach according to their wishes, perhaps sometimes even inspired by 'new learning', as is shown in the contribution by Ad Tervoort.

As vehicles for the dissemination of (new) learning, however, they were not the only institutions that mattered. In the changing intellectual climate of the Northern Low Countries of the late fifteenth century, the necessary institutional underpinning was offered to an important degree by monasteries belonging to different orders. Jaap van Moolenbroek reassesses the position of Wessel Gansfort vis-à-vis the Cistercian abbey of Aduard. He reconstructs the ways through which Gansfort was enabled—better still: 'allowed'—to use Aduard as a forum for his innovative ideas about theology and the arts, taking issue with some traditional educational texts of the Cistercian order in the process. His contribution to Aduard's status and subsequent reputation as a significant centre of learning was of far greater consequence than suggested in some of the more recent literature. Koen Goudriaan focuses on a group of Augustinian convents in the southern part of the province of Holland, assessing their part in the development of early Dutch humanism. Both authors stress the point that the term 'academy', which is sometimes applied to groups of scholars, operating in the margin of these monasteries,

in connection with their contribution to innovation in learned discourse, might convey a wrong impression. The part played by monasteries seems to have been that of providing a *setting* rather than of deliberately acting as *patrons*. The insufficiency of serious 'civic' patronage offers a partial explanation for the monastic character of early Dutch humanism, as procuring patronage outside the cloister walls did not always bring the assistance hoped for. Within the monasteries, the initiative occasionally was taken by the abbot, but more often by individual monks and canons who became involved in regional networks of humanists to which also lay people belonged.

A comparable observation can be made for the chambers of rhetoric, a type of institution which emerged in the late fifteenth century and continued to play an important role well into the seventeenth century. Although it is customary to treat them as literary societies, and rightly so, the rhetoricians themselves considered the chambers in which they participated as a kind of school, providing higher education for those in urban society who had little or no access to Latin culture. As is made clear in the contributions by Bart Ramakers and Arjan van Dixhoorn, in this way the chambers of rhetoric shaped vernacular culture by drawing on diverse sources, including classical learning. Both the chambers as institutions and individual members engaged in regional networks, paralleling the networks of humanists, which have already been mentioned.

Growth is the key word that could be applied to developments in the history of universities and the student body in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Naturally, developments taking place in this field transcended the local and even the regional level. Though much work remains to be done to fully map student mobility from the Netherlands, a number of studies that have dealt with the size and importance of sections of this overall group of generally well-travelled young men indicate that its number increased spectacularly in the course of the fifteenth century.⁶ The foundation of the universities of Cologne (1388) and Louvain were of the utmost importance

⁶ E.g.: De Ridder-Symoens, 'Brabanders'; ead., 'Studenten uit het bisdom Utrecht'; Zijlstra, *Geleerde Friesland*; Tervoort, '*iter italicum*'. Also the material gathered on students from the diocese of Utrecht by Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*. For Paris the data on students from the diocese of Utrecht in Tanaka, *Nation anglo-allemande*. A mass of data from unpublished MA-theses still needs to see the light in print. For the period after 1575, Frijhoff, *Société néerlandaise*.

for the Netherlands, but students certainly did not limit themselves to these two *studia*. Students from the Netherlands were a highly mobile population indeed. Various aspects concerning the *peregrinatio academica*, the study trip of young men to foreign universities, merit further attention. Building on his earlier study on students from Frisia, the late Samme Zijlstra used the exceptionally rich correspondence of two Roorda brothers with their father to present a case study of two travelling students. He manages to give us a close look into student life in the late sixteenth century.

Ilja Veldman presents us with interesting source material that has not been used often enough in current research, and in doing so sheds further light on university- and student life. She analyses several series of prints, the purpose of which could be quite different. They range from a prospectus for the newly founded University of Tübingen to an illustrated moralistic student guide mainly based on the situation in Leiden, also to be used as an *album amicorum*. What they do have in common is the intention to provide the viewer with accurate visual information about the university environment, from which potential students (but also present researchers of university history) could profit considerably.

Education in society

The diversification of educational institutions and the rather spectacular growth of the number of school pupils and university students appear to indicate an increased demand for schooling in various disciplines. This is true for the elementary education in merchant skills given by the *walssche schoelen*, as has been made clear by Davids. It is also true for higher levels of education. Academic learning fulfilled several functions in late-medieval society. The Low Countries were in need of an increasing number of masters of a particular intellectual discipline. The formal education of diverse sections of society, whether this was a social or legal category or a group of officials, is one aspect of the wider process of education that became increasingly important in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The need for certain experts, particularly in the field of law, is reflected in an ever growing specialization at various levels of bureaucracy, and the increased participation in education of groups that had hitherto not been so keen. In a survey article, Hilde de Ridder-

Symoens suggested that the participation of noblemen from the Low Countries in university education started in the fifteenth century and continued to increase even more dramatically in the sixteenth century, at an earlier moment and in a more pronounced manner than was the case elsewhere in Europe.⁷ Antheun Janse takes an in-depth look at the situation for the nobility of Holland; by concentrating on the trials and tribulations of one particular well-educated noble family—the Wassenaars—he argues that clear motives can be perceived for the *peregrinatio academica* of these early examples of highly trained noble students.

It is clear that princely councils, until the fifteenth century primarily a stage for councillors of noble extraction, were populated more and more with university-educated lawyers. Mario Damen examines the educational background of the officials in the Council of Holland and Zeeland. He claims that academically trained officials became more attractive because they had something to offer the Dukes of Burgundy in terms of the rationalization of government and justice. Though they were not the first to introduce Roman law in legal procedure in the county of Holland, and though their university degree was certainly not the only factor which enabled them to enter princely service, their expertise and familiarity with the principles of Roman law made sure they could work with the procedures, the implementation of which was in itself catalysed by their appointment and functioning.

It is not only in the administrative bodies of government that academics started making an impact. A movement like the Modern Devotion was equally in need of people with learning and the necessary contacts to guide the process of religious reform. Hildo van Engen investigates the role of the theologian Jan van Galecop within this movement. He concludes that Galecop's erudition and connections made him an ideal figure to initiate and monitor the process of 'claustralization' of semi-religious communities connected with the Modern Devotion.

We can also detect this increased demand for structured knowledge in the reformulation of juridical relations between bureaucracies of Church and State at different levels. Madelon van Luijk examines the context of one of the paths taken by the magistracy

⁷ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Adel en universiteiten'.

of the city of Leiden: a number of *consilia* requested from different law faculties and their professors. Though Leiden could boast of a juridical expert of its own, in the person of the *pensionaris* who was on the city's pay roll, in a situation of conflict the magistracy clearly saw the need for further legal backing in the shape of *consilia*. The study by Van Luijk makes clear that it was not only the content of the *consilia* which was used as a weapon in legal conflict, but also the prestige associated with these products of academic learning.

That learning possessed a supplementary function in society, not always based solely on its subject matter, is a motif woven through a number of other contributions as well. Learning answered the need for distinction by groups climbing the social ladder or by young generations trying to find recognition alongside those already established. So much, at least, is a possible interpretation of the advent of humanism and of the vernacular culture embodied in the chambers of rhetoric (contributions by Goudriaan, Ramakers and Van Dixhoorn). Learning acquired at a university and the degrees conferred on those who completed the academic curriculum carried a socio-symbolic meaning that went further than the pure knowledge imbibed.

A university education and more specifically a university degree conferred a certain prestige on the graduate, but, so it would seem, also on an office held by graduates associated with an important patron. Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld presents us with a thorough prosopographical analysis of the rural deans of three deaneries in the diocese of Liège, intermediaries between the parish priests and the summit of the diocesan hierarchy. He shows that, though a certain level of academic training was required, a number of deans were in fact overqualified for the task set for them. Patronage, he claims, could be a deciding factor in the appointment of highly qualified deans and the prestige associated with the office.

A change of discourse

A major European phenomenon in these centuries which also made its mark on the Low Countries, was the birth and spread of a movement focused on the classical heritage, the *bonae litterae* and the *studia humanitatis*, now labelled with the nineteenth-century term 'humanism'. The fifteenth century was the period in which the phenomenon of humanism first trickled into the Netherlands. In the last quarter

of that century it gained a certain momentum. The advent of the printing press played a part in this process, as did international student mobility: men from the Netherlands—young and old, students and masters—travelled to Italy in their hundreds. By the early sixteenth century, humanism had most definitely gained a foothold in a number of centres in the Netherlands.

The *communis opinio* is that Northern Humanism had a character of its own.⁸ It has even been customary to distinguish between the so-called 'civic humanism' of the Italian city states and the 'biblical humanism' of North-Western Europe, this last variant being characterized by the application of new humanist philological methods to Scripture and the intimate connection between humanism and the striving for Church reform. This is not the line of argument this volume follows, nor does it subscribe to the traditional association of biblical humanism with the Modern Devotion. Several contributions discuss the character of 'Dutch' humanism as well as the ways and means through which this intellectual current became the dominant form of learned discourse in the sixteenth century. But they do not label it as specifically 'biblical'. On the one hand, it is pointed out that Dutch humanism could be no less 'civic' than its Italian counterpart, as is made clear in connection with the Gouda circle. On the other hand, the relationship between humanism, defined as the practice of Latin *bonae litterae*, and the great religious issues of the day appears to be shifting, not to say erratic, and not seldom superficial rather than intrinsic. A man like Wessel Gansfort was intensely interested in religious issues. Though he was in close contact with Agricola and other early humanists while in Groningen and Aduard, his writings show no signs of serious enthusiasm for the *studia humanitatis*.

Several contributions deal with the early beginnings of this change in discourse. Humanism did not simply wash over the Low Countries like a tidal wave. Rather, it seeped slowly into the canals and brooks of the Netherlands until the land was immersed: a decades-long process. The dissemination of humanism was a step-by-step development, which involved not just towering intellects such as Agricola

⁸ See a.o. Akkerman, Vanderjagt and Van der Laan (eds.), *Northern Humanism; Bot, Humanisme*.

and Erasmus, but also dozens, if not hundreds of scholars of more modest stature, all contributing in various manners and at various levels. Focusing on the networks of these individuals, in other words on the social dimension of humanism, as a complement to the more traditional philological and aesthetic approach, offers chances to get a grip on humanism as a historical phenomenon. Koen Goudriaan subjects the Gouda circle, centring on Stein monastery (in which Erasmus started his career), to a close scrutiny from this point of view.

Ad Tervoort presents a case study of two late-medieval schoolmasters that illustrates the previous point made. Starting from an inspection of their lives, their works and their books, he concludes that these schoolmasters belonged to the intellectual elite of the city of Leiden. He claims that these men, although still firmly grounded in the late-medieval intellectual tradition, display a certain curiosity, albeit modest, towards aspects of the humanist program. It brought one of them, Engelbert Schut, (short-lived) praise. Yet, the case of the virtually anonymous Jan Gherytsz might be as interesting, since it gives us an idea at what basic level the actual renewal of the educational program could take place.

As time progressed, humanist discourse adapted to new situations and spread through venues not involved before. School plays are a case in point. In addition to using those created by the playwrights of Antiquity, humanist schoolmasters started staging their own plays to be performed by their pupils. These texts can serve as an excellent source to monitor the modifications in humanist discourse under the influence of the (Counter-)Reformation. Marijke Spies researches the textual transmission in the various editions of the successful play *Ioseph* by Cornelius Crocus. Textual differences testify to its use in both Catholic and Protestant circles, but equally demonstrate its adaptability to the two persuasions. The most fundamental changes to the text, she claims, came from the author himself and were the result of his own intellectual struggle in terms of 'Renaissance and Reformation'.

The dissemination of classical knowledge and of intellectual tools borrowed from Antiquity was certainly not the monopoly of learned Latin culture: it spilt over into vernacular culture. The relation between Latin and the vernacular deserves renewed attention, as the contributions by Bart Ramakers and Arjan van Dixhoorn prove. The two of them, each from his own angle, explore the functions of the chambers of rhetoric. They claim that the members of these

chambers were important intermediaries in bringing about fundamental innovations in vernacular literate culture, partly through their contacts with learned, humanist culture. During the course of the sixteenth century, the rhetoricians did much to promote the ongoing debate about the renewal of religion. In the history of 'Renaissance and Reformation' in the Low Countries they have a place of their own.

The 'Renaissance and Reformation' era also left its mark on catechism. In the light of religious controversy catechisms became more important as an educational tool. Peter van Dael examines catechetical literature, focusing on the illustrations accompanying two editions of the catechism by Petrus Canisius. While Canisius stood firmly within a tradition, he made certain modifications detaching the catechism from some of its medieval additional baggage, while stretching back to the Bible and the Church Fathers. Van Dael argues that these innovations are also reflected in the strongly biblical spirit of the illustrations in these editions.

In the end, humanism triumphed. This is illustrated by a late sixteenth-century book catalogue, put under scrutiny by Sabrina Corbellini and Gerrit Verhoeven. The progress of humanism had been accompanied by the advent of the printing press, which revolutionized book production. Focusing on the use, function and intended audience of specific books as well as studying the building of certain collections should give an insight into what forms and levels of knowledge were available and to whom. The catalogue under discussion, which was found in the archives of the convent of Saint Anne in Delft, contains close to 600 titles and is something of a *rara avis*. Its contents show a high degree of specialization on the one hand and the dominant position of humanism in various academic disciplines on the other. It seems to have been a state-of-the-art library. A critical appraisal of both contents and context allows the authors to suggest from which circles of learning this collection was put together.

The points of contact between the various articles in this volume are multiple: nearly each article has something to contribute to more than one of the main themes and topics addressed in the volume. The editors have, therefore, chosen to put them in (roughly) chronological order.

A LEARNED ACQUAINTANCE. JAN VAN GALECOP
(c.1375–1428) AND THE MODERN DEVOTION¹

Hildo van Engen

The semi-religious communities which came into being in the diocese of Utrecht under the influence of the Modern Devotion met with criticism from the very beginning. For instance, mendicants fairly often had difficulty with the mode of living of Tertiaries and Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life. Their criticism could even lead directly to accusations of heresy. Therefore, it was a matter of life and death to the semi-religious to have the right connections, namely with people who possessed knowledge of canon law and were, moreover, capable of exerting influence within the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchy. It is not an exaggeration to argue that the success of the semi-religious communities of the Modern Devotion would have never come about without the support of prominent members of the clergy who were schooled in canon law.

In the first phase of the Modern Devotion, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, canons from Utrecht, such as Gerrit van Bronkhorst and Evert Foek, defended the semi-religious way of life to the outside world. Not without reason, they were later called ‘pillars’ of the Modern Devotion. Both men had been academically schooled in canon law, occupied prominent positions in the vicinity of the Bishop of Utrecht, and it must have been of decisive importance that both felt an affinity with the ideals propagated by the Modern Devotion.²

This contribution will focus on another of the supporters of the ideas of the Modern Devotion. Jan van Galecop was the person who took on the torch from the people just mentioned. The way in which this prominent clergyman functioned as a ‘pillar’ and promoted the interests of the Modern Devout is the subject of this article.

¹ With thanks to Bram van den Hoven van Genderen who allowed me access to his data and who commented upon an earlier version of this article.

² See Van den Hoven van Genderen, ‘Gerrit van Bronkhorst’; id., ‘Evert Foec’.

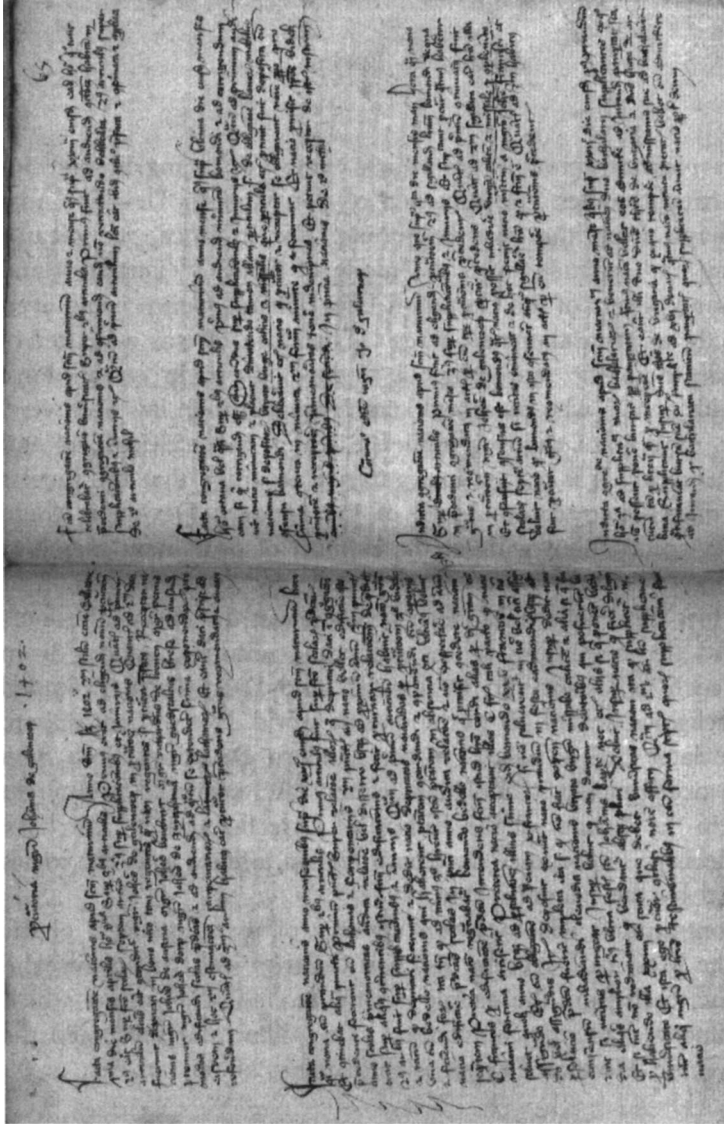


Plate 1.1: Notes in the hand of Jan van Galecop as proctor of the Anglo-German Nation 1402 (Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Archives de l'Université de Paris, registre no. 4, Liber procuratoris of the Anglo-German Nation, 1392-1406, f. 64v-65r).

Paris: from student to professor

Jan van Galecop saw the light of day around 1375.³ Although the name Galecop refers to the district of the same name, just outside the city of Utrecht, Jan grew up in a Utrecht family. On several occasions his father Gijsbert was a member of the city council as alderman and councillor on behalf of the tailors' guild (the *sniders*). Jan's grandfather also occupied a prominent position in the urban society of Utrecht.⁴ Nothing is known about Jan van Galecop's youth in Utrecht. In the 1380s he probably attended one of the many parish and chapter schools.⁵ It is possible that he visited a school elsewhere, before enrolling in the *artes* Faculty in Paris at the beginning of the 1390s.

The absence of enrolment registers of the University of Paris is partly compensated by the existence of the *libri procuratorum* of the Anglo-German Nation. These contain the reports of the meetings held by *magistri* from north-western and eastern Europe at the Parisian *artes* Faculty. Thanks to this source, Jan van Galecop appears before the historian at the moment he obtained his bachelor's degree in 1394 under master Gilles van Jutphaas,⁶ and probably within a year or two after he began his studies at this faculty.⁷ His licentiate and master's title he received in 1396, under the supervision of master Nicolaas van Gameren. He needed two years to accomplish this and was, therefore, somewhat slower than most of his fellow students. Several other students also obtained their degrees under these two 'supervisors', so it seems that Jan's choice of these masters was not determined by a strong personal preference. It also indicates that

³ This can be determined on the basis of his academic 'career'. From 1366 there were no age limits for graduation at the Parisian *artes* Faculty (Tanaka, *Nation*, 32). A birth around 1375 coincides with a minimum age of 35 years for the doctoral degree at the Parisian Faculty of Theology (Asztalos, 'Faculty of Theology', 419) acquired by Galecop in 1410 (see below).

⁴ For information about father Gijsbert see: Het Utrechts Archief (hereafter: HUA), Domkapittel, inv. nr. 1-2, f. 30r, 36v-37r. In the years 1404-1416 he appeared occasionally as alderman, in 1412, 1414 and 1419 as member of the council (Burman, *Jaarboeken*, 43, 64, 78, 99, 110, 149, 195, 226). In 1419 he was also churchwarden of the Buurkerk in Utrecht (HUA, Bewaarde archieven II, inv. nr. 26-1). See also HUA, Kartuizerklooster Nieuwlicht, inv. nr. 26, f. 4r; Verzameling Van Buchell-Booth, inv. nr. 176, f. 1161.

⁶ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 699.

⁷ Such had been the rule since 1366 (*Chartularium*, ed. Denifle, III, 145 nr. 1319; Tanaka, *Nation*, 32, cf. 62-63).

Jan van Galecop was not in want of anything from a material perspective: the pupils of Gilles van Jutphaas and Nicolaas van Gameren were mostly richer students. Jan van Galecop's rosy financial position was also evident from the size of the *bursa* he was able to pay in Paris. The seven shillings and four pennies constituted a far larger amount than the majority of students could afford to pay in those years.⁸

As was customary, Jan was accepted into the community of masters of the Anglo-German Nation shortly after he had obtained his licentiate in the *artes*. He belonged to this community for a great number of years. In the years 1398–1409 his name appeared continuously in the reports of the nation. Already in 1369 he donated a frank in order that he could fulfil the position of proctor in the future.⁹ The proctor, who was usually elected for a period of four weeks, was head of the Anglo-German Nation. His task was to convoke the meetings of the masters belonging to the nation and to take down the minutes. Moreover, the proctor noted the names of the students who obtained a degree.¹⁰ In 1399 these responsibilities were entrusted to Jan for the first time. In 1400, 1401, 1402 and 1407 Jan was re-elected proctor and sometimes his appointment was renewed once or more after the expiration of the month's term.¹¹ The fact that Galecop let himself twice be replaced as proctor, in 1399 and 1400, was perhaps related to the plague epidemic ravaging Paris in those years as a result of the flooding of the Seine. Galecop then decided to return *ad suas partes*.¹²

The Anglo-German Nation paid a lot of attention to the management of its buildings at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. During Jan's period as proctor in 1402 ambitious building activities at the *scolae septem artium* were completed. In 1404, 1405 and 1407 too, Galecop was occupied with the care

⁸ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 699, 722. See Boyce, *Nation*, 90, 164–165; Tanaka, *Nation*, 173, 192–197, 265, 291.

⁹ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 722, 729, cf. Toulouse, *Nation*, 39; Tanaka, *Nation*, 63–64, 265.

¹⁰ Boyce, *Nation*, 41–53; Toulouse, *Nation*, 36–42.

¹¹ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 794, 798, 810–811, 812, 813, 837, 844–845, 846, 847, 848; II, 22. Galecop's activities were already observed by Brom, 'Nederlanders'.

¹² *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 798, 816, cf. Weiler, *Heinrich von Gorkum*, 23–24.

of the school buildings, then as representative on behalf of the nation.¹³ That he was an authoritative figure in the Anglo-German Nation became apparent in 1414, when a disagreement arose regarding the election of a new receptor. Together with master Jacob van Haarlem, Galecop had to step in at short notice, for the sake of peace and quiet, under penalty of a substantial fine, to force a decision and appoint the new receptor. A year later Jan himself was elected receptor, which made him responsible for the finances of the nation for a year, from 21 September 1404 onwards.¹⁴ His last position within the nation was that of *inrotulator* in the autumn of 1409. This temporary job contained the preparation of the *rotulus*, destined for the pope, with the names of those who wanted to be considered for a benefice. The death of Pope Alexander V in May 1410, however, prevented these applications from being honoured.¹⁵

Nowhere in the Parisian sources is Jan van Galecop explicitly mentioned as *magister regens*, who actually taught students and had bound himself to continue doing so for the whole academic year. Nor is it recorded that any student obtained a degree under his supervision. Since the procurator of the nation had to be such a *regens* in principle, the odds are that Jan did provide tuition at the *artes* Faculty after obtaining his *magisterium*.¹⁶

While Galecop made himself useful to the Anglo-German Nation in several ways, he continued his studies at the Faculty of Theology. In November 1403 this presumably led him to ask the nation to support his attempt to secure a place at the college of the Sorbonne.¹⁷ Whether he got it is unknown, but a fact is that Jan obtained his licentiate after Easter 1410,¹⁸ and apparently shortly after this his

¹³ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 844–845, 848, 877, 893, 895, 901, 903, 904; II, 8, 10, cf. Boyce, *Nation*, 132, 140–147; Toulouse, *Nation*, 108–115.

¹⁴ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain I, 883, 905, 911, 912, 919, 920, 922, 934. See Boyce, *Nation*, 53–60; Toulouse, *Nation*, 42–49.

¹⁵ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, II, 58, 64–65; Toulouse, *Nation*, 66–69; Watt, 'University Clerks', 227.

¹⁶ See Boyce, *Nation*, 32–33, 44, 46; Toulouse, *Nation*, 38, 106–108; Tanaka, *Nation*, 151–152. Galecop acted as *fideiussor* for the satisfaction of the obligations of the *magistri regentes* Guilhelmus Bloc (1402) and Gisbertus Schaeu (1408) (*Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 845 and II, 31), which probably meant that he had to take over their teaching obligations when necessary, cf. Boyce, *Nation*, 137–138.

¹⁷ *Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, I, 817.

¹⁸ *Chartularium*, ed. Denifle, IV, 195. He was mentioned under some *magistri artium* in a *rotulus* destined for Pope John XXIII (to be dated Aug. 1410–Jan. 1411) (*Ibid.* 196).

doctorate. At the same time it was the last trace Galecop left behind in Paris, although he may have been active at the Faculty of Theology for another two or three years. During the rest of his life he let himself be called *professor sacre theologie* which points to the fact that he undertook teaching tasks for some time after he obtained his doctorate, as doctors often did before they embarked on careers outside the university.¹⁹

Unfortunately, there are few sources at hand which throw light upon the daily practice at the Faculty of Theology at the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that time a solution to the Western Schism was diligently sought there, for instance by scholars such as Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson.²⁰ It is highly likely that, as a prominent member of the nation, Galecop had dealings with Gerson, who was chancellor of the university. Galecop probably attended Gerson's lectures as a student at the Faculty of Theology, and they must have met as colleagues in the years following 1410. Whatever is the case, his long stay in Paris and his reputation as a scholar must have provided Jan van Galecop not only with a wide knowledge and an extensive social network, but also with much respect and even some fame. In Utrecht this had not gone unnoticed.

Idealism in Utrecht?

Thanks to the chronicle of the convent of Saint Nicholas in Utrecht, Jan van Galecop can be traced in his city of birth, some years after he disappeared from the Parisian sources. When in June 1413 Wermhoud van Boskoop died, Galecop succeeded him as confessor of the convent of Saint Caecilia, a sister congregation of the Third Order of Saint Francis.²¹ Therefore, Jan must have returned to Utrecht not later than 1413.

In May 1414, when he was appointed as minder (*procurator*) of his younger brother, who was chaplain of the Utrecht Cathedral Chapter and who was going to stay elsewhere for the purpose of study, he

¹⁹ Verger, 'Professeurs', 28.

²⁰ Swanson, *Universities*. See recently about D'Ailly: Guenée, *Église et État*, 125–299. For recent information about Gerson in connection with Paris see: Burger, *Aedificatio*, 24–35; Posthumus Meyjes, *Gerson*, 11–203.

²¹ Vermeulen, 'Kronijk', 80.

was called *canonicus Sancti Salvatoris*, that is canon of the chapter of Saint Saviour alias Oudmunster.²² Thanks to the thorough study of Van den Hoven van Genderen it is known that Galecop was a honorary canon, which meant that he could call himself thus, but that he neither had a prebend at his disposal nor could he lay claim to one. Such honorary canons were usually chaplains of the chapter who were promoted to canon due to their merits or their honourable social position.²³ Jan did indeed possess the chantry (*perpetua vicaria*) of the altar of the Holy Cross in the Church of Saint Saviour.²⁴ It is not surprising that the honorary canonry fell to somebody of his calibre. The appointment of a theologian like Galecop as a honorary canon contributed to the reputation and honour of the chapter and its canons. Of course the canons also considered the practical benefit to the chapter of Jan van Galecop's influence and contacts in the world of learning.

It is often assumed that in late-medieval society a university graduate could aspire to a lucrative career, usually in the service of a secular or ecclesiastical ruler. By becoming confessor to a community of pious women, Jan van Galecop preferred spiritual to material wealth. It seems as if his chaplain's benefice satisfied the norm common to the Modern Devotion that a person could only occupy one ecclesiastical office,²⁵ but appearances were deceptive. From later sources it can be deduced that as a confessor Galecop actually aspired to more. Already during the pontificate of John XXIII Galecop had

²² Galecop's brother was also called Jan (HUA, Verzameling Van Buchell Booth, inv. nr. 176, f. 1161); Gumbert, *Kartäuser*, 132 n. 58 does not make a correct distinction. The younger Jan possessed a chantry in the cathedral church in Utrecht since 1413. In the period 1414–1417 he was thrice given permission to study, with the older Jan and his father Gijsbert acting as minders (HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 1–2, f. 14r, 20r, 30 r, 36v–37r, 58r). In Paris he acquired the bachelor's degree in 1417 and one year later the licentiate in the *artes* (*Auctarium*, ed. Denifle and Chatelain, II, 219, 242, 243). In the 1420s he was notary of the Cathedral Chapter, see Heeringa, *Archief*, xxv, 3, 18; Tenhaeff, *Bouwgeschiedenis*, 199, 305, 308; Post, 'Verkiezingen', 192; HUA, Kartuizerklooster Nieuwlicht, inv. nr. 6; HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 405, f. 60r. In February 1426 the younger Jan did his best to acquire a chantry in the Buurkerk, to no avail (Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter: ASV), reg. Suppl. (hereafter: RS), inv. nr. 194, f. 245, 269v–270r, 278).

²³ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 116–122, 725.

²⁴ This became apparent in 1419 (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 124, f. 41r), but Galecop must have possessed the chantry at the moment he became honorary canon. Cf. Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 143–148.

²⁵ Cf. Van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Gerrit van Bronkhorst', 34.

acquired an expectative for a canonry with prebend in the chapter of Our Lady in Utrecht. Thus, he had coveted this prebend from 1415, at the latest. Unfortunately, there were more interested parties and the prebend was lost to him.²⁶ Galecop may have tried before this to acquire a canonry with prebend. A petition he made to the Pope in 1421 reports that the dean and chapter of Saint Saviour had promised him a canonry with prebend before the Council of Constance was held, so no later than 1414. But he missed out twice, because the chapter considered it necessary to defer to powerful secular lords.²⁷ It did, indeed, happen that rulers pushed forward a candidate acceptable to them through such 'indirect blackmail', but it is also possible that the chapter was hiding behind this occasional excuse.²⁸ In any case, there were candidates who took precedence over Galecop. Obviously Galecop aspired to a prestigious canonry with prebend from the outset, despite his affinity with the ideals of the Modern Devotion.

The importance of his position as confessor should not be trivialized. The convent of Saint Caecilia, which came under Galecop's religious guidance, occupied an important place within the Chapter of Utrecht. This Chapter was established in 1399 and functioned as the co-ordinating authority to a large number of Third Order convents in the diocese of Utrecht. These communities were mainly communities of women, established in the context of the Modern Devotion. The Chapter explicitly did not have any dealings with the First Franciscan Order, the Minorites.²⁹ As a consequence of the

²⁶ On 22 November 1417 Galecop was found to fight for a prebend which had been in the possession of Jan Honderdmark for almost two years (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 106, f. 63v). When he resigned Galecop asked Pope Martin V for a provision on 22 January 1420, in the course of which he let it be noted that John XXIII already provided him with an expectative; Galecop was also embroiled in a conflict about other canon positions in the curia (*ibid.*, inv. nr. 137, f. 251r-v). A provision was also mentioned in petitions of 11 April 1419 (*ibid.*, inv. nr. 124, f. 41r) and 30 June 1421 (*ibid.*, inv. nr. 153, f. 186v-187r; cf. ASV, reg. Lat. (hereafter: RL), inv. nr. 211, f. 290v-292r). On 30 June an expectative for an office without *cura animarum* in the chapter was also mentioned.

²⁷ ASV, RS, inv. nr. 153, f. 186v-187r; RL, inv. nr. 211, f. 290v-292r. Hendrik Vrued immediately asked whether he was allowed to take over Galecop's chantry (RS, inv. nr. 153, f. 187r; vgl. ASV, Cam. Ap., Annatae, inv. nr. 1, f. 30r).

²⁸ Compare Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 332. Perhaps Galecop was passed over in favour of Dirk van den Berg, bastard of the Count of Holland, cf. *Ibid.* 473, 729.

²⁹ Koorn, 'Kapittel van Utrecht'; Goudriaan, 'Derde orde Sint Franciscus'.

small number of convents for men, the Chapter of Utrecht did not recruit confessors solely from its own ranks: appeals were made to clerics outside the order, such as secular clergymen, as was the case with Jan van Galecop.³⁰ Although he was confessor to an important convent, Galecop remained in some ways an outsider, since he did not have a profession to the Third Order. Partly because Wermhoud van Boskoop, Jan's predecessor as confessor, had been the driving force behind the Chapter of Utrecht in its initial phase, the convent of Saint Caecilia was in fact the main convent of the Chapter when Jan van Galecop appeared at the scene.³¹ That is why Galecop was also associated with another convent in this period. In the autumn of 1414 he brought the sisters of the convent of Saint Ursula in Oudewater into the cloister.³² The leading position of the convent of Saint Caecilia in Utrecht is also apparent from the fact that the most important archives of the Chapter were kept there.³³ It is because of this situation that Galecop was mentioned first among the witnesses in a *vidimus* of 20 February 1414.³⁴ It was not an insignificant charter which was vidimated on that occasion: for the benefit of the Chapter of Utrecht the official of the Bishop of Utrecht made an authentic copy of the bull *Supra montem* issued by Pope Nicholas IV in 1289 which contained the rule of the Third Order. As a matter of fact, the official in question was Evert Foek,³⁵ who has already been introduced as a pillar of the Modern Devotion in the introduction to this article. With him Galecop maintained a good relationship. A few months later, on 22 May 1414, Evert appointed him one of his executors.³⁶

Evert Foek must have been the link between Jan van Galecop, the Modern Devotion and the Chapter of Saint Saviour of which Foek was a long-standing dean. Could the guiding hand of Evert Foek be behind Galecop's choice of the confessorship of the convent of

³⁰ Goudriaan, 'Derde orde Sint Franciscus', 223.

³¹ Koorn, 'Kapittel van Utrecht', 135-136.

³² The episcopal charter is only known from an undated record: HUA, Bisschoppen Utrecht, inv. nr. 9, f. 135v-136r; Muller, *Regesten*, I, 224 nr. 1323, dates it in [1394-1423]. Good arguments can be found for 1414, see Goudriaan, 'Oudewater', 10; id., 'Den Hem', 105-106.

³³ Van Engen, 'Archief', 42-44.

³⁴ Edition in Van Heel, 'Utrechtsche Kapittel', 235-238.

³⁵ Van den Hoven van Genderen, 'Evert Foec', 72.

³⁶ HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 220-2.

Saint Caecilia? Foek may have looked upon the erudite theologian as the right man to help protect the interests of the Chapter of Utrecht. In any case, he had every reason for doing so, because the first decades of the fifteenth century were a turbulent period for the Tertiaries in the diocese of Utrecht. A great number of the Third Order convents strongly changed their character. Many Tertiaries voluntarily chose to live in poverty. The sisters regularly chose a cloistered life and just as frequently a community switched to the rule of Saint Augustine. This process of claustralization was the result of the pursuit of a more perfect life, but also a reaction to the criticism launched by the outside world towards the semi-religious way of life. The relatively new Chapter of Utrecht was in the process of finding its own place on the religious landscape. The father of such a prominent convent must have been closely involved in this development.

Constance: the Grabow case

The chronicle of the convent of Saint Nicholas mentioned that Jan van Galecop gave up his task as confessor after three and a half years and went to Constance in connection with the Council there.³⁷ This statement is confirmed by two texts from which it can be deduced that Galecop was sent to Constance on behalf of Bishop Frederick. His departure ought to be dated to or shortly after April 1417.³⁸ How long he was supposed to stay there could not be estimated beforehand and was probably dependent upon the course council matters took. This was also the reason for Galecop's release on 8 June from the task of being the executor of Evert Foek, who perhaps felt that his end was near and who did, indeed, die in 1418.³⁹ That the Bishop sent Galecop, of all people, as *nuntius* to Constance, proves that during his confessorship Galecop had become a confidant of the Bishop, whether or not at the intercession of Evert Foek.

³⁷ See n. 21.

³⁸ Of these episcopal letters only the date (14 April) has come down to us (HUA, Bisschoppen Utrecht, inv. nr. 9, f. 103v, 117r-v; edition: Van Asseldonk, 'Bisdom Utrecht', 83-84). Muller, *Regesten*, II, 43 dates it in [1414] but the chronicle of the Saint Nicholas convent makes 1417 more plausible. Also Schmedding, *Regeering*, 228-229 and Van Asseldonk, 'Bisdom Utrecht', 78 n. 88.

³⁹ HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 220-3.

Jan van Galecop could have been sent to Constance at a less interesting moment. It was precisely in the summer and autumn of 1417 that serious efforts were being made to elect a new Pope; when Martin V took office on 11 November the unity of the Church was restored.⁴⁰ Jan witnessed the end of the Western Schism, and he owed his delegation in the first place to his qualities and authority as a theologian.

Bishop Frederick may have considered the fact that Jan van Galecop had an easy access to people such as Pierre D'Ailly and Jean Gerson, who put their mark on the proceedings of the council. That Galecop probably knew Gerson personally has already been mentioned. D'Ailly, who had by then been appointed cardinal, possessed a prebend as canon of the Chapter of Saint Saviour in Utrecht.⁴¹ Although he did not reside in Utrecht, this circumstance may have facilitated Galecop's contact to D'Ailly. Moreover, the Bishop did have a third reason to send Jan van Galecop to Constance, which was perhaps of overriding importance. The Council did not end with the election of Martin V. One of the last subjects to be discussed was connected with the semi-religious from the diocese of Utrecht. The matter related to Matthew Grabow, who came from Saxony and who worked as lector at the Dominican friary in Groningen at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Probably he had already been fiercely critical of the semi-religious for a long time. The long and the short of his criticism was that only those who had taken the three solemn vows of poverty, chastity and obedience within an approved order could lay claim to a true fulfilling *religio*. Grabow thought that it was sinful to try to fulfil these vows outside an approved order. Voluntary poverty among lay persons was a particular thorn in his side. Secular status implied property which made it contradictory and, therefore, sinful to practise voluntary poverty while remaining in the world. Anybody who in spite of this voluntarily parted with possessions outside an approved order made himself guilty of heresy, according to Grabow.

The opinion of the Dominican was perhaps shared by many, but Grabow committed his thoughts to paper, after which his treatise fell into the hands of a few opponents, the Brethren of the Common

⁴⁰ Brandmüller, *Konzil*, II, 276–370.

⁴¹ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 78.

Life in Deventer. They quickly informed the Bishop of Utrecht, after which an episcopal court of justice condemned Grabow's theses on the ground of heresy. After lodging an appeal, Grabow arrived in Constance where his case was actively tried from 1417 onwards. In 1419 a conciliar research committee, too, condemned Grabow's opinions on the ground of heresy. His writings were burned publicly in Florence, where the Curia was staying at that moment.⁴² Therefore, the precise words of his treatise have been lost.

In the historiography the Grabow case has been mainly considered as an attack on the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life. However, Grabow did not have it in exclusively or solely for these Brethren and Sisters, but for the semi-religious in general. The fact that the Tertiaries in the diocese of Utrecht felt themselves driven into a corner by Grabow is apparent from the chronicle of the convent of Saint Nicholas in Utrecht which mentions a process conducted as a result of Grabow's book "against the Brethren and Sisters of *our* [that is the Tertiary] order".⁴³ Moreover, in the Tertiary convents of Sint-Janskamp near Vollenhove and the Heer Hendrikshuis in Zutphen the charters of Grabow's denunciation were transcribed.⁴⁴

Precisely because of this issue the intellectual heavyweight Jan van Galecop was the right person to go to Constance. After all, he had a prominent position in the Chapter of Utrecht during the period in which Grabow caused so much upheaval. Galecop was well informed about the situation and the criticism directed at the semi-religious, and no doubt he was in some way involved with the case tried against Grabow in Utrecht.⁴⁵ On the advice of Pierre d'Ailly, the theologians gathered in Constance were given the opportunity to bring their views about Grabow's opinions to the fore. At the end of March and the beginning of April 1418 D'Ailly and Gerson expressed their disapproval.⁴⁶ Whether Jan van Galecop did the same is unknown. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish whether

⁴² See among others Keussen, 'Matthäus Grabow'; Wachter, *Matthäus Grabow*; Brandmüller, *Konzil*, II, 205–207.

⁴³ Vermeulen, 'Kronijk', 81.

⁴⁴ University Library Amsterdam, ms. IC6, f. 14r–28r; Stadsarchief Zutphen, Heer Hendriks- or Wolfshuis, inv. nr. 1, f. 73–108.

⁴⁵ As suggested by Goudriaan, 'Gouda en de Moderne Devotie', 126.

⁴⁶ Gerson on 3 April 1418 (Mansi, *Collectio*, XXVIII, 391–394) in reaction to D'Ailly (ibid. 390–391). Because he left Constance on 30 March D'Ailly's opinion was formulated in March (Brandmüller, *Konzil*, II, 379).

Galecop was still in Constance in April 1418. It is highly likely—not until 24 July do we encounter him in Delft—but the sources do not mention his appearance. The little chronicle of the convent of Saint Nicholas was too concise for that. The *Chronicon Windeshemense* by Johannes Busch, on the other hand, describes the events in Constance rather thoroughly. Busch even discloses the names of a few clergymen from the circle of the Modern Devotion who contradicted Grabow's opinions, but Jan van Galecop is not mentioned among them.⁴⁷ However, on the basis of this it cannot be concluded that Galecop had nothing to do with the Grabow case. As we will see, Busch had reasons to suppress a possible contribution of Galecop.

The Chapter of Sion

When he returned from Constance, Jan van Galecop was no longer confessor. However, he remained closely involved with the Chapter of Utrecht and the Modern Devotion.⁴⁸ In 1421, for instance, he sealed two deeds which had been framed for the leasing and sale of land to the convent of Saint Caecilia in Utrecht. Galecop's involvement reached beyond 'his' former convent. For instance, the sisters of the convent of Saint Barbara in Delft were brought under the enclosure on 24 July 1418. The ceremonial deed of this decree was executed "by the venerable master Jan van Galecop, doctor in Divinity". We already saw that Galecop did the same before in Oudewater; he repeated it several times after 1418.

The enclosure of the convent of Saint Barbara had a remarkable result. The day after, two leading figures in the Chapter of Utrecht took a step with far-reaching consequences. Pieter Gerritsz, earlier minister-general of the Chapter of Utrecht and subsequently confessor of the convent in Delft which had been enclosed and Willem Clinckaert, minister-general of the Chapter, adopted the rule of Saint Augustine. This decision, which made them regular canons instead of Tertiaries, caused an uproar. An attempt by Pieter Gerritsz to prevail upon the sisters of the convent of Saint Barbara in Delft to

⁴⁷ Grube, *Chronicon Windeshemense*, 173–174.

⁴⁸ HUA, Bewaarde archieven I, inv. nrs. 909–1 (24 Jul.) and 909–2 (9 Aug.). On both deeds the remainder of Galecop's seal and counterseal in red wax.

adopt another rule failed.⁴⁹ Elsewhere the ideas of the two men were successful, even leading to the establishment of a new congregation of regular canons and canonesses, the Chapter of Sion, the equivalent in Holland of the Chapter of Windesheim.⁵⁰

The change-over of Pieter Gerritsz and Willem Clinckaert must have been carefully prepared for some time. Ten days earlier, the Bishop of Utrecht had approved transitions from Tertiaries to the rule of Saint Augustine.⁵¹ The episcopal approval will have been granted at the request of a relatively small group of 'idealists' around Gerritsz and Clinckaert who belonged to the Chapter of Utrecht.⁵² Jan van Galecop was probably one of these idealists, even though he no longer had dealings with the Chapter of Utrecht. It is out of the question that Gerritsz and Clinckaert could have realized their plans for a transfer to another order without the knowledge of the man who was so closely involved with the Tertiaries in the diocese of Utrecht, and who was seen as the confidant of the Bishop. Moreover, he knew both men well from his time as confessor. So Jan van Galecop knew about the plan for a transfer to the rule of Saint Augustine. It is not even implausible that he was actively involved, and that he belonged to the *jurisperiti aliique docti et religiosi patres* mentioned in the episcopal deed of approval and who had been consulted about the transfer. The episcopal deed of 1418 leads one to think that the adoption of a new rule was related to developments taking place at the Council of Constance, which were unfortunately not specified.⁵³ Perhaps Galecop's return had been the immediate cause? If Galecop had been actively involved in the transfer and the founding of the Chapter of Sion, that does explain immediately why he did not appear in Johannes Busch' description of the Grabow case. After an attempt initiated by Busch to incorporate the Chapter of Sion with that of Windesheim had failed, mutual relations between the two Chapters were disturbed. For that reason Busch suppressed the role of Willem Clinckaert. It looks very much

⁴⁹ Verhoeven, 'Kronieken', 143-144.

⁵⁰ Ypma, *Kapittel*, 34-37; Vermaseren, *Monte Sion*, 30-32; Goudriaan, 'Den Hem', 103-105.

⁵¹ Ypma, *Kapittel*, 13-15 (edition: 122-127); Vermaseren, *Monte Sion*, 31-32.

⁵² According to Ypma, *Kapittel*, 34.

⁵³ Ypma, *Kapittel*, 123.

as if Jan van Galecop also became a victim of a *damnatio memoriae* in Busch's chronicle.⁵⁴

Following the events in Delft, Galecop was also involved in administering the enclosure of convents of Tertiaries in other cities. As far as we know there were six more of them, apart from Oudewater and Delft. On 14 June 1419 Galecop performed the enclosure of the convent of the New Nuns in Amsterdam on behalf of the Bishop.⁵⁵ In Utrecht he did the same for the convents of Saint Nicholas and Saint Agnes on 10 November 1422. Incidentally, there he also had to deal with the preparations for the enclosure on 27 August and 9 October.⁵⁶ Slightly later, on 22 November, he enclosed a convent at the Spieringstraat in Gouda,⁵⁷ followed in 1425 by the convent of Saint Agnes in Elburg,⁵⁸ the convent of Bethlehem in Utrecht, and the convent of Saint Ursula in Schiedam.⁵⁹

It is remarkable that it was frequently Jan van Galecop who was associated with the enclosure of Third Order convents. What did his contribution consist of? In a legal sense the semi-religious communities fell under the bishop. It was the bishop who issued a deed for the purpose of the enclosure in which a third party, for instance Jan van Galecop, was ordered to enclose the sisters of a certain community. In 1414 Galecop was the sole authorized representative of the bishop for the convent of Saint Ursula in Oudewater, but for later enclosures Galecop was always associated with two delegates. In the case of the convent of the New Nuns in Amsterdam in 1419 Galecop is mentioned together with Johan, minister of the Tertiary convent of Vredendaal in Utrecht, in other cases he was repeatedly mentioned together with Tiemen Braam, the minister-general of the Chapter of Utrecht.

⁵⁴ Goudriaan, 'Den Hem', 109; Goudriaan, 'Derde orde onderdeel Moderne Devotie', 11–12, 29–30.

⁵⁵ Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Gasthuizen Amsterdam, inv. nr. 781.

⁵⁶ HUA, Bewaarde archieven I, inv. nrs. 988-1, 988-2, 988-3; Vermeulen, 'Kronijk', 8.

⁵⁷ HUA, Bisschoppen Utrecht, inv. nr. 9, f. 114v–115r; Muller, *Regesten*, II, 110 nr. 2312, cf. Taal, *Goudse kloosters*, 8.

⁵⁸ GA Elburg, Stadsbestuur, inv. nr. 1293 (edition: Van Heel, 'Agnieten-klooster', 94–96).

⁵⁹ Convent of Bethlehem: HUA, Bewaarde archieven I, inv. nr. 1269–2. Schiedam: Nationaal Archief (The Hague) (hereafter: NA), Convent Ursula Schiedam, inv. nr. 1.

Obviously the enclosure of a convent involved much more than just the ceremonial deed of enclosure. Enclosure implicated the legal disassociation from the parish. The fact that enclosed sisters could no longer go outside, meant that they needed a chapel of their own, with its own altar, and preferably their own priest. Apart from the practical arrangements needed for this, compensation was necessary for the curate who saw his parish and, therefore, his income diminished. In the case of the enclosure of the convent of Saint Nicholas, Galecop was also involved in such preparations. Although the Bishop had assigned him this task, it is possible that the initiative for the enclosure came from the confessor or from the sisters themselves. An enclosure had the greatest chance of success if it was prepared and realized by somebody who was well informed about the specific local circumstances, and who had the confidence of the various parties involved: the specific convent, the Chapter of Utrecht, the Bishop and the priest. As a professor in theology, as he was invariably called in the deeds of enclosure, Galecop had enough authority and knowledge to bring the necessary negotiations to a satisfactory ending.⁶⁰

We may, therefore, safely assume that Jan van Galecop was a supporter of the enclosure of Tertiaries. He will also have thought positively about the transfer of some convents to the rule of Saint Augustine. Some connection may be detected between Galecop's involvement with enclosures and the development of the Chapter of Sion. The first convents which came to belong to that Chapter were convents in Oudewater, Delft (Saint Agnes), Amsterdam (New Nuns), Gouda (Saint Margaret and Saint Mary ter Gouwe) respectively.⁶¹ In any event it is no coincidence that three of these five convents were brought under enclosure by Galecop—the convent in Gouda which was enclosed in 1422 is probably Saint Mary ter Gouwe. This is indicative of the close contact Galecop had with these convents and their confessors. It connected Galecop to a small group of leading figures in the Chapter of Sion who were influential in Oudewater, Gouda and Delft, with the names of Pieter Gerritsz and especially Willem Clinckaert turning up repeatedly.⁶² That Galecop moved in

⁶⁰ May we include Galecop among the *patres* mentioned in a decree from 1427 who were working on the enclosure of convents for the Chapter (De Kok, *Bijdragen*, 117)?

⁶¹ Ypma, *Kapittel*, 38; Goudriaan, 'Den Hem', 103–105.

⁶² Goudriaan, 'Den Hem', 105–108, 110–111.

their circle is an additional argument for thinking that he was an accomplice to the adoption of the rule of Saint Augustine in 1418.⁶³

A canon at last . . . and again a Schism

In the meantime Galecop tirelessly aspired after new prebends. In 1419 or 1420 he acquired the priesthood of Nieuwlande,⁶⁴ on the island of Zuid-Beveland in Zeeland, and in 1421 he secured half of a benefice of the Buurkerk, the most important parish church in Utrecht.⁶⁵ His long-held desire to become a canon in a chapter in Utrecht had still not been fulfilled. In 1421 a prebend in the chapter of Saint Saviour had still not fallen to him, cause for a request for provision made to Rome, but to no avail.⁶⁶ We already saw that in 1417 Jan was involved in a dispute about a prebend of the Chapter of Saint Mary. This dispute continued until 1424, and meanwhile Jan once again requested an expectative for such a prebend.⁶⁷ At least since 1421 he had also possessed an expectative for a canonry with prebend in the Cathedral Chapter.⁶⁸

In 1423 Bishop Frederick van Blankenheim died, which was the overture to the Schism of Utrecht. The issue of his succession divided

⁶³ At the request of Galecop a *vidimus* was formulated in 1420 of two *consilia* about the right of inheritance and disposition by will by clergymen and ecclesiastical institutions, emanating from the University of Cologne and from a few erudite canons in Utrecht. The tradition of this text reinforces once more the idea that Galecop had not experienced the transfer from 1418 as an undesirable one: the text can only be found in a manuscript of the monastery of regular canons Saint Michael-in-Den Hem, the monastery of Willem Clinckaert (NA, Monastery of Saint Michael-in-Den Hem, inv. nr. 3A, f. 27r–28v).

⁶⁴ A request to that end on 11 April 1419 (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 124, f. 41r). That he actually acquired this benefice is apparent from the account of the official of the archdeacon of the cathedral church in 1419–1420 (Grijpink, *Register*, I, Zuidbevelandia, 96) and from a petition handed over by Galecop on 21 January 1420 (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 137, f. 251r–v, cf. RL, inv. nr. 211, f. 290v–292r).

⁶⁵ This became apparent on 30 June (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 153, f. 186v–187r; RL, inv. nr. 211, f. 290v–292r), 24 July and 10 August 1421 (HUA, Bewaarde archieven I, inv. nrs. 909–1, 909–2) and on 30 April (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 177, f. 298v) and 10 May 1424 (RS, inv. nr. 173, f. 165r). See also HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 4251, f. 70r.

⁶⁶ See n. 26.

⁶⁷ See n. 27. The conflict was apparent in 1423 (ASV, RL, inv. nr. 235, f. 269) and 1424 (RS, inv. nr. 173, f. 165r; inv. nr. 177, f. 298v).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, inv. nr. 153, f. 186v–187r.

the clergy in Utrecht into two camps, namely that of Zweder van Culemborg, a candidate eventually designated by the Pope, and that of Rudolph van Diepholt, who was chosen by the Utrecht clergy but refused by the Pope. Jan van Galecop took the side of Zweder van Culemborg. In this state of discord Galecop finally saw his efforts rewarded: in 1424 he acquired a canonry with prebend in the Cathedral Chapter.⁶⁹ On 6 August 1425 the canon Galecop was mentioned as a witness in a deed issued by Zweder.⁷⁰ It was he who, as bishop, approved the enclosures of the convents in Elburg and Schiedam on 10 and 25 October. Thus, when in 1426 Zweder van Culemborg and his clergymen left the city of Utrecht, Jan van Galecop was also present among the exiles.⁷¹ The exile brought Galecop an appointment as dean of the Chapter of Saint Peter. Because dean Pieter van de Meer continued to be supported in Utrecht Jan was in fact an 'oppositional dean'.⁷²

Jan van Galecop died on 17 April 1428. The clergymen who had their eyes on the prebends released by his death immediately filed petitions to Rome.⁷³ In one of these petitions it was suggested that the Pope had appointed Jan as his honorary chaplain.⁷⁴ Although this statement is nowhere else confirmed it is again made clear how great Jan's reputation must have been during his lifetime. Where Galecop found his last resting-place is unknown, but given the church politics in the diocese it must have been somewhere outside the city of Utrecht. Jan bequeathed a large number of manuscripts to the Carthusians of Nieuwlicht.⁷⁵ Already in 1424 Nieuwlicht had benefited

⁶⁹ Galecop turned to the Pope for a provision on 30 April and 10 May 1424 (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 177, f. 298v; inv. nr. 173, f. 165r). A later archive record mistakenly calls him canon from 1422–1428 (HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 734, f. 12r); in 1425 explicitly canon of the Cathedral Chapter (see hereafter). Galecop remained canon until his death: ASV, RL, inv. nr. 277, f. 33v–35r; RS, inv. nrs. 221, f. 51v–52r and 229, f. 66r–v.

⁷⁰ HUA, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 405, f. 60r.

⁷¹ De Hullu, *Schisma*, 26–51.

⁷² Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 198 n. 221. This deanery also appears to exist at the moment of Galecop's death (ASV, RS, inv. nr. 229, f. 36r; Cam. Ap., Annatae nr. 3, f. 176r (cf. Baix, *Chambre*, 150 n. 4); RL, inv. nr. 277, f. 115r–116v).

⁷³ Between 11 May 1428 and 14 October 1429: ASV, RS, inv. nrs. 221, f. 51v–52r; 229, f. 36r, 66 r–v; 238, f. 205v–206r; RL, inv. nr. 277, f. 32v–34r; cf. HUA, Domkapittel I, inv. nr. 1–3 and ASV, RL, inv. nr. 277, f. 115r–116v; Cam. Ap., Annatae nr. 3, f. 176r (Baix, *Chambre*, 150).

⁷⁴ ASV, RS, inv. nr. 229, f. 36r.

⁷⁵ Van Hasselt, 'Necrologium', 258–259.

from Galecop, and he had mediated in the case of donations by others.⁷⁶ Moreover, the ties between this monastery and the chapter of Saint Saviour were traditionally close.⁷⁷ The Carthusians quickly decided to sell two manuscripts from Galecop's inheritance, the first because they already owned a copy of the same text, the second ironically enough because it was a legal text which the Carthusians did not find useful. Of the manuscripts donated by Galecop, two copies have even been saved to this very day in the library of the University of Utrecht.⁷⁸

Galecop as learned acquaintance

Although many students from the diocese of Utrecht enrolled at various European universities, only very few people managed to become masters in theology. The biography of Jan van Galecop is the story of a man who must have been an exceptional presence in his city of birth after he had graduated. The scion of a family which belonged to the upper class of the regime of the guilds in Utrecht had become a member of an intellectual elite thanks to his long stay in Paris. As far as the sources allow us to follow the life of Jan van Galecop, it is striking that his name was often connected with the religious reform movement of the Modern Devotion.

Galecop's affinity with the ideals of this movement found expression in his choice to become confessor to a prominent community of women. In this position he inevitably had to deal with resistance to semi-religious institutions. It is perfectly possible that the guidance of the convent in Utrecht was consciously entrusted to a scholar of the calibre of Galecop. Judging from his delegation to the Council of Constance, Galecop's ambitions went beyond the confessorship, although he could also stand up for the interests of the Modern Devotion at a distance.

Whatever Galecop did in Constance as the representative of the bishop, he will have used his reputation, his expertise and not least his contacts with prominent theologians to defend the semi-religious

⁷⁶ HUA, Kartuizerklooster Nieuwlicht, inv. nr. 26, f. 9v-10v.

⁷⁷ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 556, 659-660.

⁷⁸ Gumbert, *Kartäuser*, 132-133, 324, 339-340.

in the diocese of Utrecht. If anybody could estimate the danger presented by opponents to their way of life it was Jan van Galecop. Having been educated as a theologian in Paris, he must have been conscious of the power of the arguments put forward by the Mendicants.

Judging from his continuous involvement with the enclosures of Tertiary convents and the transfer of some of these communities to the rule of Saint Augustine, Jan continued to devote himself to the spiritual choices of the semi-religious. Even though the sources do not make it explicit, Galecop may be characterized as a great stimulator of the process of claustralization which the Third Order convents in the diocese of Utrecht went through in the fifteenth century. The increasing tightening of their way of life was not inconsistent with the original ideals of the Modern Devotion, but must have been preferred by many Tertiaries themselves. Against the background of their spiritual ambitions a man like Galecop prepared the way for claustralization, guided the process and perhaps in some cases even initiated it. That is where the importance of Jan van Galecop to the Modern Devotion lies.

THE EDUCATION OF THE NOBLE WASSENAAR FAMILY

Antheun Janse

In 1439 the Dutch nobleman Jacob van Wassenaar enrolled as a student at the new University of Louvain, together with his younger brother Jan. Some time later, in 1444, we encounter both in Orléans where they studied for a number of years in the Faculty of Law. Their youngest brother Philip joined them there. Their three names figure at the beginning of the new *Liber procuratorum nationis Germanicae Orleanensis*, which was started in 1444: “The noble Lord Jacob van Wassenaar, the noble Lord Johannes van Wassenaar, the noble Lord Philip van Wassenaar, brothers, *baccalarii* in law, sons of the Viscount of Leiden, from the diocese of Utrecht.” Finally, in 1447–1448 the eldest, Jacob, turns out to have enrolled at the Faculty of Law at the University of Cologne as well.¹

In her prosopographical article about Orléans students from the diocese of Utrecht, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens presents the three Wassenaar brothers as an example of an academic family tradition among the nobility in the Northern Netherlands.² However, we could also regard the study of the three brothers as an example of the new aristocratic demand for a thorough legal education. This was a fairly new phenomenon in the fifteenth century. The Wassenaar family belonged to the high nobility in the county of Holland, and for the two elder brothers in particular secular careers as eminent aristocrats lay in store. For that purpose a legal education on an academic level had never been necessary. Only in early modern times did it become an indispensable part of a noble upbringing, certainly for those nobles who aspired to a career in the princely civil service. Generally it can be argued that this transition from

¹ *Matricule*, ed. Reusens, 105, nr. 29–30; Ridderikhoff and De Ridder-Symoens (eds.), *Premier livre*, I, 1: “Nobilis dominus Jacobus de Wassenair, nobilis dominus Johannes de Wassenair, nobilis dominus Philippus de Wassenair, fratres, baccalarii in legibus, filii burchgravii de Leydis, Trajectensis diocesis”; see the biographies in *Ibid.*, II.1, nrs. 3–5. For Cologne *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 507.

² De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Studenten uit het bisdom Utrecht’, 76.

swords to study books took place earlier and more massively among the nobility in the Low Countries than elsewhere in Western Europe,³ but even so we have to ask ourselves whether the Wassenaars were not far ahead of their contemporaries. And if this was indeed the case, why? In this contribution I would like to place the university education of the three Wassenaar brothers against the background of the study behaviour of the nobility in Holland in the Burgundian period (1433–1482) and try to explain their choice for an academic study.

The nobility of Holland in the Burgundian period

The three Wassenaars belonged to the top layer of the nobility in the county of Holland. In the fifteenth century Holland developed into a strongly urbanized and commercialized society in which urban elites played an important role, both economically and politically. This does not mean that the noble element in society could be neglected. The style of living of the nobility retained its attraction and many nobles continued to make their influence felt in princely politics.⁴ They were able to do so in three fields. Firstly, as regional administrative officials of the sovereign, in particular as bailiffs (administration of justice, public order, regional administration), to a lesser degree also as receivers (the financial administration of princely domains) or castle wardens (*castellani*). Secondly, some acquired a seat on the Council of Holland—a contribution about this subject can be found elsewhere in this volume.⁵ The element of nobility in this Council was pushed back in the course of the fifteenth century, but some nobles, including Jan van Wassenaar, the second of the three mentioned above, still played an influential role in it. Jan was a member of the Council in the years 1456–1463 and again just before his death in 1492–1496.⁶ Thirdly, the nobles could exert influence on the county's government through the so-called *Ridderschap* (Knighthood), the knightly part of the representative States. In the Burgundian period the Knighthood was regularly invited to nego-

³ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Adel en universiteiten'.

⁴ Still in the sixteenth century, see about this subject Van Nierop, *Knights to regents*.

⁵ See the article by Damen in this collection.

⁶ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 496–497.

tiate political and financial matters with the sovereign or his Council, together with representatives of the cities and occasionally with those of the clergy. Notably from the middle of the 1450s onwards, the Knighthood became an established institution alongside the Council. From that period onwards, on average approximately fifty nobles were called upon for the Knighthood. For special occasions this could increase to approximately one hundred people at a time. We find their names in the comital accounts, in those entries in which were registered the expenses made for the delivery of convocations. The Knighthood was part of the regional 'representative' States, but the summoned knights and squires mainly represented themselves. Only at the end of the fifteenth century was the number of members summoned drastically reduced to ten. From that period onwards they counted as representatives of the countryside.⁷

For the Knighthood only those people were called upon who were able to afford the lifestyle of the nobility, that is those who lived off the proceeds of their rural estates, possessed a defendable castle, and acted as knights and squires in the ducal army when necessary. In the period 1433–1482 more than 300 people in total were called upon for the Knighthood. However, a great number of those were only mentioned incidentally. The core of the Knighthood, which I would like to define as those who were summoned ten times or more, consisted of 128 people. Among them we find a number of high nobles: from Holland itself the Lords of Brederode, Egmond and Wassenaar, from the border regions of the prince-bishopric (Sticht) of Utrecht, Guelders and Brabant the Lord of Culemborg, the Viscounts of Montfoort and the Lord of Vianen. The great majority consisted of average and lesser nobles, for instance from the well-known Dutch families Assendelft, Boekhorst, Duivenvoorde, Heemstede, Hodenpijl, Matenese, Naaldwijk, Poelgeest, Raaphorst, Spangen, Woude and Zwieten. Only a small percentage of those bore the title of knight. Most of them were merely called squires. Moreover, not everybody owned seigniorial rights: in the fifteenth century this was only the case for approximately sixty per cent of the summoned nobles. The possession of high seignories was more prevalent in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century, but still it concerned only a small minority of nobles. Generally speaking the

⁷ Janse, 'Rekening en ridderschap', 119.

high nobility in Holland occupied relatively modest positions and the differences between the high and low nobility remained limited. The nobility remained clearly separate from the urban patriciate, though. In the second half of the fifteenth century only a few members of the Knighthood also acted as city magistrates. Moreover, with regard to the choice of marriage candidates, there was hardly any mixing between Knighthood and patriciate.⁸

University education in the circle of the Knighthood

Out of the 128 members that can be considered to form the core of the Knighthood, five are known or can be assumed to have studied at a university. Apart from the two Wassenaar brothers—Jacob, the eldest already died in 1451 and, therefore, his life was too short for him to appear on my list—they were Adriaan van Naaldwijk, son of Albrecht van Naaldwijk van Bergambacht (Louvain 1437, Cologne 1441), Steven van Raaphorst (Louvain 1429) and Filips van Spangen (Louvain 1460). For each of these three people identification is uncertain.⁹ The matriculation lists were formulated in such a general way as to make identification impossible. On the other hand, it is possible that I may have overlooked some nobles, because they were not registered as such or because their names were described in a corrupted way in the registers. Be that as it may, we are able to state that the Wassenaar brothers were a great exception in the Knighthood of Holland as far as their education was concerned.

The limited degree to which the Knighthood of Holland was university-educated in the Burgundian period is not very surprising. It is a well-known fact that the *nobiles* who enrolled at the European universities in this period were for the most part younger sons who prepared themselves for a career in the ecclesiastical hierarchy or in public administration. The family heirs and heads of families who managed the estates from the family castle and who legitimized their privileged position by executing administrative and military tasks for

⁸ See for a general introduction to the Knighthood of Holland in the late Middle Ages my book *Ridderschap in Holland*.

⁹ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 434; *Matricule*, ed. Reusens, 8, nr. 37 and 185, nr. 24; *Matricule*, ed. Wils, 69, nr. 87.

the sovereign, in other words the members of the Knighthood, were hardly interested in a university education. Usually they were literate, in the sense that they were able to read and write, sometimes in more than one language including Latin. However, the demand for a university education hardly existed. Only in the years 1430–1440 do we find eldest sons and heirs at Oxford and Cambridge who were destined for a secular career and whose stay at the university was part of their education as cultured aristocrats.¹⁰ They were mainly very young boys who had only had a basic education and who did not aspire to specialist learning. John Tiptoft, who studied at Oxford from 1441 to 1444, was the first to represent a different type. He also studied at Padua and became a competent Latin scholar. He was the first “to fuse the worlds of scholarship and lay nobility”.¹¹ In the German Empire a university education in the secular careers of nobles only came into use in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.¹²

If we extend the research population to the relatives of the 128 members of the Knighthood the picture changes. Including sons and younger brothers we count forty people who followed an academic study, as documentation shows. Again the identification is uncertain in a number of cases. We do not know which place a certain Jan van Egmond, who is mentioned in Louvain from 1443 to 1447, occupied in the well-known noble Egmond family, if he belonged to it at all.¹³ Of those whose genealogical relationships are known, a number fits the known picture well.

Firstly, some were younger sons who were destined for an ecclesiastical career and who were sent to university with a view to getting on in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In the circle of the Knighthood of Holland the best-known among them is Gijsbrecht van Brederode, a younger brother of Reinoud, Lord of Brederode (†1473). Gijsbrecht probably began his university study at Cologne in 1429, after which we encounter him at Louvain in 1431. He must also have studied in Paris. No doubt his study was intended to facilitate his career in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and in this he was very successful. He

¹⁰ Orme, *Childhood to chivalry*, 71.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 72.

¹² Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, 391. Compare also Fuchs, *Heidelberger Universitätsbesucher*, 34.

¹³ *Matricule*, ed. Reusens, 112, nr. 25.

became canon in 1435 and provost of the prestigious Cathedral Chapter in Utrecht in 1437. He was also provost of the equally prestigious Chapter of Oudmunster in the same city.¹⁴ In 1455 the chapters elected him Bishop of Utrecht, but his election was successfully contested by Philip the Good of Burgundy, who intended the bishopric in Utrecht for his illegitimate son David. Gijsbrecht van Brederode was subsequently granted an annuity and the office of provost of the Chapter of Saint Donaas in Bruges by way of compensation. In 1470 Bishop David imprisoned him. Following his release in 1474 he spent his last years in Breda.¹⁵ Gijsbrecht is a slightly separate case, because he was called upon for the Knighthood a number of times in spite of his ecclesiastical status, but on the basis of his state and way of life he did not belong to it essentially.

Some members of the family of the Viscounts of Montfoort belonged to the same category. The Montfoorts, an eminent family from the prince-bishopric of Utrecht, were closely involved in Holland politics and owned important feudal estates in the county. For that reason various members of this family were called upon for the Knighthood of Holland. We know relatively much about the study of Jan van Montfoort (†1505), the third son of the Viscount Jan II (†1448). He had already become canon of the Chapter of Oudmunster in Utrecht at a young age. On coming of age he received permission to live outside Utrecht for five years to embark on a university study. He did, indeed, study at a foreign university, where his study was paid for by his elder brother. After three years he gave it up to gain subsequent secular experience at the courts of friendly nobles. In 1464 the chapter ordered him to reimburse his prebend money and to follow a new course of study of five years.¹⁶ We encounter him at Louvain in 1468 where he acquired the degree of *baccalaureus in decretis*. His cousin Willem van Montfoort, a younger son of Lodewijk, Lord of Hazerswoude (†1451), had acquired this degree before him. Willem also became canon of Oudmunster and even rose to be provost. As a consequence of the political struggle in the city of Utrecht, in which Montfoort played an important role, the

¹⁴ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 75, 258.

¹⁵ See about him Armstrong, *England, France and Burgundy*, 219–221.

¹⁶ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 112 and 264.

two had to leave the city in 1470. Both chose to continue their studies at Louvain.¹⁷

A second category is formed by nobles who, after a secular life, decided to concentrate on religious matters and as a result became interested in a university study. An example from the Knighthood of Holland is Willem, an illegitimate son of Count William VI (1404–1417). Before 12 August 1416 he married Beatrix van Hodenpijl, belonging to a well-known noble family from the area of Delft. Her brother Jan belonged to the supporters of Jacqueline of Bavaria in the power struggle with Philip the Good. After several years of marriage he decided to retire to a monastery. He became *clericus redditus* in the Charterhouse Genadendal in Bruges, where he died in 1455. Apparently he had a need for further intellectual education, because we encounter him as a student at Louvain in 1434.¹⁸ His wife Beatrix became a nun in the Benedictine abbey of Rijnsburg, where she made her will in 1448.¹⁹

Jan van Montfoort, the father of the earlier mentioned Jan, had a similar career, but in a different order. After the death of his older brother Zweder he inherited the viscounty of Montfoort in 1411, including the castle and the accompanying estate. However, at that moment he was provost of the Cathedral Chapter in Utrecht. He had received this office in 1399, although he was still a minor at the time. In the following years he studied at Heidelberg (1403) and Paris (1407) where he became proctor of the German Nation and acquired a degree in canon law.²⁰ However, due to the death of his brother his career took a completely different direction. While he had already been appointed papal notary in 1412, he took control of the viscounty and the patrimony of Montfoort in 1413, using some force. He married a noblewoman from Guelders by whom he fathered at least three sons.²¹ In the struggle between Jacqueline and Philip the Good he played a prominent role as Jacqueline's pillar of support. He became her treasurer and stadtholder in Holland. In 1417 during the siege of Gorinchem he was even knighted.²²

¹⁷ Ibid. 253.

¹⁸ Van Foreest, 'Foreest en Hodenpijl', 198. About the Charterhouse Scholtens, 'Dal van Gracien'.

¹⁹ Hüffer, *Adellijke vrouwenabdij*, 122.

²⁰ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 476–477 and Van der Linden, *Montfoort*, 85.

²¹ Van der Linden, *Montfoort*, 86–89.

²² Van der Linden, *Montfoort*, 91–95.

Younger sons who followed academic studies, and knights and squires who made the transition from a secular to a religious life and vice versa, were not a new phenomenon in the fifteenth century. We know that already in the thirteenth century various nobles in the county of Holland had younger sons who studied at European universities and incidentally these students turned up later in the knighthood, often after an ecclesiastical career. An example of the latter is Jacob van Benthem (†1358) who, after having been canon of the Cathedral Chapter in Utrecht and provost (archdeacon) of West Friesland for a number of years, suddenly became head of the family due to the deaths of close relatives, married, was knighted and took up residence in De Binkhorst castle near The Hague.²³

A phenomenon that was not completely new in the fifteenth century, but occurred more often than in the period before, is that nobles from the circle around the Knighthood began university studies with a view to a secular career. We know a few examples. As it happens they were sons of officials who had had splendid careers in the princely administration under the Burgundians.

The first was a son of the non-noble receiver-general Godschalk Oom, a patrician from Dordrecht who had become a powerful man in the service of the Burgundians; he acquired a seigniorship including a castle and his children could afford the life style of the nobility. Two of his sons enrolled at the University of Orléans in 1450. Hendrik, the eldest, rose to be a member of the Council of Holland (1457–1471). Jan, the younger of the two, became bailiff of The Hague. His two sons, Floris and Ijsbrand, enrolled at the University of Louvain in 1482. Floris in particular had an illustrious career. He became doctor of both laws and even rose to be rector of the university. Around 1500 he was pensionary of the city of Dordrecht and member of the Council of Holland.²⁴

Three members of the Ruychrock family whom we encounter in the *Liber procuratorum* in Orléans belong to the same category. Jan Ruychrock was an official from Zeeland who had made a career in the clientele of Frank van Borselen and later in the service of the Burgundians in The Hague. Like Godschalk Oom he was receiver-

²³ Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 434. Mention as provost in West Friesland in Het Utrechts Archief (hereafter: HUA), Kapittel ten Dom, inv. nr. 2590.

²⁴ Ridderikhoff and De Ridder-Symoens (eds.), *Premier livre*, II.1, nrs. 60 and 61; *Matricule*, ed. Wils, 462 nr. 237 including note.

general for a few years and member of the Council of Holland. He clearly aspired to the nobility, which became clear when he bought the noble estate Te Werve in Rijswijk in 1448. His eldest son Willem was knighted in 1468. His younger brother Philip had already enrolled at Orléans in 1451. He was in Paris in 1450 and continued his university education in Louvain in 1452.²⁵

A third example is the Assendelft family. Although Gerard van Assendelft (†1486) descended from an old noble family that appears in the sources ever since the beginning of the fourteenth century, he mainly owed his prestige to his career in the comital service. He was a member of the Council of Holland and grew into a very influential official. No doubt he realized the importance of an academic education. Two of his sons, Johannes and Nicolaus, were registered in the *Liber procuratorum* of Orléans in 1466. In 1505 Gerard, a son of Nicolaus, enrolled at the same university. He carved out a career as president of the Court of Holland, one of the highest offices in the region.²⁶

Both Johannes van Assendelft, who began to study law in Orléans in 1466, and his cousin Gerard, who enrolled in 1505, were eldest sons and heirs. They were destined to succeed their fathers in their seigniories. Gerard was also knighted. Their university education was, therefore, intended as support of a secular career as a member of the Knighthood. In the second half of the fifteenth century such an education became less unconventional. Around 1500 a university education went with a good aristocratic education in Holland, certainly in those lineages that had a tradition of holding office in central government.²⁷ Significant in this respect was not only the practical use of the acquired knowledge, but also its meaning as a status symbol, needed by those nobles who did not belong to the highest echelon of the nobility.²⁸

But the Assendelfts bring us to a different period and a different milieu. Let us return to the three Wassenaar brothers. Only the choice of an academic education made by the third son Philip fits

²⁵ Ridderikhoff and De Ridder-Symoens (eds.), *Premier livre*, II.1, nr. 71. Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 488.

²⁶ Ridderikhoff and De Ridder-Symoens (eds.), *Premier livre*, II, nrs. 129 (Johannes) and 130 (Nicolaus) and 427 (Gerardus).

²⁷ Groenveld, 'Terug naar Wassenaar', 130-132.

²⁸ See for this development De Ridder-Symoens, 'Adel en universiteiten' and ead., 'Rich Men, Poor Men'.

the pattern dominant around the middle of the fifteenth century, for Philip was predestined for an ecclesiastical career. He became a canon of the Cathedral Chapter in Utrecht and in 1450 he was entrusted with the office of provost (archdeacon) of West Friesland in the presence of the most distinguished members of his family. Furthermore, he was appointed canon treasurer of Saint Lambert in Liège on 21 January 1451.²⁹ Incidentally, he also continued to act as a secular lord. He became Lord of Wimmenum, Oegstgeest and Hazebroek near Wassenaar and was called to the Knighthood in that capacity.³⁰

On the other hand, the university education of Philip's elder brothers is highly remarkable. Jacob and Jan both made careers as secular aristocrats for which they were predestined from the very beginning. They can be considered to be very early examples of what was to become a new trend. Jacob, the eldest son, attracts even more attention because he enrolled at as many as three universities. Furthermore, with the Wassenaars we find ourselves in the high nobility. This also makes the Wassenaar brothers a highly exceptional case.

What was it that incited the two eldest brothers to travel to France in order to study law? Was it accidental personal interest or did more structural factors play a role? It remains difficult to fully explain the choice of the study of law due to a lack of sources, but a closer examination of the family history may elucidate the need for legal expertise. The father, and in particular his career demand attention. Who but their father would have taken the initiative for the academic adventure of the three brothers?

The concerns of Hendrik van Wassenaar

The father of the three Wassenaar brothers, Hendrik, must have been born around 1390 as the eldest son of Philip, Lord of Wassenaar. He descended from the old Holland nobility. The Wassenaar family is mentioned for the first time in 1200 and since that period we

²⁹ Obreen, *Wassenaar*, 36 aanvullingen; HUA, Kapittel ten Dom, inv. nr. 2595. He ought to be distinguished from Philip van Wassenaar Bartholomeuszoon from Leiden who studied at Cologne in 1453, see *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 566 n. 21.

³⁰ Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland*, 215–216, 455.

encounter many generations in influential positions in the comital administration such as councillors, bailiffs, members of a polder board, and so on. In 1340 the Lord of Wassenaar acquired the viscounty of Leiden. This provided him not only with a very prestigious title, but also with extraordinarily rich possessions, which were also politically interesting. The viscounty included the possession of a few castles and seigniories with high and low jurisdiction as well as the right to appoint the bailiff and the aldermen in Leiden, one of the five big cities in Holland. This latter power caused continuous tensions with certain groups in the Leiden urban elite, but when good relations with the count existed, the viscount could keep them under control. This relationship was extremely good under Count William VI, a brother-in-law of the Burgundian Duke John the Fearless. Philip belonged to the small circle of confidants of the Count, and more than anybody else he had influence on the princely administration. He had his own room at the Binnenhof in The Hague, the main residence of the count and his court. In the absence of the sovereign he regularly acted as his stadtholder. He was favoured with various fiefs.³¹

At first Hendrik followed in the footsteps of his father. In 1408 he fought in the battle of Othée alongside his father, where he was probably knighted.³² In 1414 he sealed a charter of his father. Together with his father he swore allegiance to Jacqueline in 1416, the only daughter of Count William VI who was ill and whose end was drawing nigh. After the death of the Count in April 1417 a tense situation arose in Holland.³³ There was political strife in the county, because William VI only left one daughter (Jacqueline) who was already a widow of her first husband, while her uncle John of Bavaria also laid claim to the succession. The party lines were mainly drawn up according to internal differences, both within the noble families and within urban factions. This polarization went back to a war of succession in the middle of the fourteenth century. We refer to these factions as *Hoeken* and *Kabeljauwen*: in this case they were the supporters of Jacqueline and of John of Bavaria respectively. Traditionally the Wassenaar family belonged to the faction of the

³¹ Van Gent and Janse, 'De Wassenaers in de Middeleeuwen', 25–26.

³² UB Leiden, BPL 136d, f. 66.

³³ For the following see Van Gent and Janse, 'De Wassenaers in de Middeleeuwen', 26–28.

Hoeken and in this Hendrik also followed his father. In 1417 Jacqueline appointed him forester of the Haarlemmerhout together with his father³⁴ and in the following year he acted as councillor of John IV of Brabant, Jacqueline's second husband. However, Hendrik pursued a course which would alienate him from his family in the following year.

In February 1419 John IV of Brabant and John of Bavaria entered into an agreement, through the arbitration of Philip, the future Duke of Burgundy, which acknowledged John of Bavaria as fellow regent for a period of five years. Hendrik van Wassenaar belonged to the court council which would take the executive of the county upon itself. As Viscount of Leiden, his father Philip was forced to accept the appointment of some city magistrates who belonged to the faction of the *Kabeljauwen*. The tensions between the factions increased and exploded in the course of the year. As a member of the court council Hendrik tried to appease the differences, but his father was completely on the side of the *Hoeken*. In 1420 it even came to an armed conflict with John of Bavaria laying siege to the city of Leiden. Because of his rebellious behaviour, Philip van Wassenaar had been deposed from his fiefs before. On 20 May 1420 John of Bavaria offered these fiefs to Philip's son Hendrik, with a restriction regarding the appointment of city magistrates in Leiden.³⁵ After the seizure of the city in August, Philip felt forced to submit to John of Bavaria. He handed the viscounty over to the count, after which he was imprisoned in a castle in the prince-bishopric of Utrecht. There he died in 1427.

Although Hendrik van Wassenaar had chosen the side of John of Bavaria, he lost the important right of appointment of the magistracy of Leiden. He had to hand over his rights to the count in 1421. He did not take kindly to this loss of influence on the composition of the city council in Leiden at all. In the following years he took every opportunity to regain his rights. After the death of John of Bavaria, Hendrik joined Philip the Good, who started an armed fight against Jacqueline of Bavaria and who turned out to be the winner at the Treaty of Delft in 1428. In those years Hendrik held

³⁴ Nationaal Archief (The Hague), Archief Graven van Holland (hereafter AGH), inv. nr. 1833; inv. nr. 1213, f. 154v–155.

³⁵ Huisarchief Twickel in Delden [hereafter HAT], inv. nr. 7007 (reg. 42).

the office of bailiff of North Holland (1426–1434). After the Treaty of Delft he maintained contact with Jacqueline and through her he tried to regain his rights. In 1428 she enfeoffed him with all comital fiefs possessed by his father.³⁶ The Burgundian duke, however, put a stop to this. He refused to endorse this rather vague, unspecified enfeoffment, which could be interpreted as including the appointment right in Leiden. Every year Hendrik then formally requested the court in The Hague to grant him his feudal patrimony. The archives of the Wassenaar family still contain ten charters in which witnesses declare that Hendrik made an official request. In this way he kept alive his claims in correct accordance with feudal law.³⁷ It did not, however, have the desired effect. There was nothing else Hendrik could do on his deathbed but to emphatically pass on his claims to his eldest son Jacob.³⁸

In these first years of Hendrik's performance as viscount another matter was also important. In 1419, when the political tension in Holland was high, Hendrik married Catharina van Gruuthuse, a woman he had undoubtedly encountered through the court of John IV of Brabant.³⁹ On the occasion of this marriage a 'fraternal partition of the estate' (*broederscheydinge*) was decided upon: Hendrik would succeed in all the fiefs of the Wassenaar family, with the exception of the seigniories of Voorburg and Kethel, which devolved upon his youngest brother Jan, who would also receive a yearly allowance of 350 English nobles. During the party struggle, which subsequently broke out, Jan van Wassenaar unconditionally chose the side of Jacqueline and Hendrik must have thought that because of this the agreement of 1419 was no longer valid. After the Treaty of Delft, however, this proved to be not the case. Philip the Good, who was seeking a reconciliation, put him under pressure to continue to leave the rights to his brother. Hendrik had to give in but it was only in 1430 that he granted his brother the seigniories Voorburg and Kethel.⁴⁰ He then tried to get out of paying the yearly allowance of 350 English nobles but in that case he also had to give in. In 1434

³⁶ HAT, inv. nr. 7007/5 (reg. 56) and inv. nr. 7010 (reg. 57).

³⁷ HAT, inv. nr. 7010 (reg. 57, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 72).

³⁸ Bockenbergh, *Prisci Bataviae*, 154.

³⁹ Catherine's genealogical relations are unknown.

⁴⁰ HAT, inv. nr. 7420.

the Great Council of Philip of Burgundy passed judgement to the detriment of Hendrik.⁴¹

At the end of his life the Lord of Wassenaar suffered another legal defeat before the Council of Holland. His distant cousin Dirk van Santhorst, from a collateral line of the Wassenaar family, branched off in the thirteenth century, felt obliged to sell his castle Santhorst together with the land because of poverty resulting from political problems. He sold the property on 22 February 1443 to Willem van Naaldwijk, the receiver-general who was close to the fire and did not balk at feathering his own nest.⁴² Two days later Hendrik objected. He argued that, in the distant past, the castle together with the land had been separated from the seigniorship of Wassenaar in a fraternal partition of estate, “and therefore he should be considered rightfully and for all good reasons he brought forward to be the next of kin and to have the first right of purchase”. The Council immediately decided that Hendrik did not have the right of first purchase unless the Santhorst family had handed it over to him, but Hendrik was unable to prove the latter.⁴³ The house of Santhorst remained in possession of the Naaldwijk family.⁴⁴

Hendrik suffered these defeats notwithstanding his good relations with the Burgundian sovereign. For a few years he had an important position in the count’s Council as a chairman in the absence of the stadtholder. From 1431 onwards he was a paid councillor, in which capacity he attended nearly a third of all sittings of the Council.⁴⁵ He also owned a house in The Hague, at the Voorhout, right next to the Dominican priory, where he founded his own chapel, and within a stone’s throw of the court-buildings. His father had also owned this house but Hendrik was the first to choose The Hague as his main residence. He may have felt compelled to do so because two important family castles, ’t Zandt near Katwijk and Podikenpoel

⁴¹ AGH, inv. nr. 238, f. 14–14v and HAT, inv. nr. 7394/2, f. 62. See also *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, I–III, nr. 211.

⁴² AGH, inv. nr. 714, c. Noordholland, f. 13. Already in 1434 there was a conflict between Hendrik and Dirk van Santhorst, see *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, I–III, nr. 260.

⁴³ *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, VII, nr. 273 (“ende dairom mit recht ende veel andere redene die hij dairbij brochte sculdich waere die naest te wegen ende dairoff die nacoep te hebben”).

⁴⁴ AGH, inv. nr. 716, c. Noordholland, f. 80.

⁴⁵ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 81.

in Oegstgeest, had been demolished in the party struggle.⁴⁶ In any case he did not choose to build a new castle in the country.

Hendrik's close relationship with the sovereign was expressed in 1432–1433 when Philip the Good personally presented Hendrik's child for baptism in The Hague. In 1436 Antoine de Croÿ presented another child of Hendrik at the font on behalf of the Duke.⁴⁷ Which children are referred to here is unclear—the three brothers mentioned earlier must have been older—but the involvement of the Duke points to good relations. Nevertheless, the fact that Hendrik was unable to complete his business favourably speaks for the independence of the law, or in any case for the impartiality of Philip the Good, who did his utmost to be more than a mere leader of the *Kabeljauwen* in Holland. Is it far-fetched to look in this direction for the answer to the question why Hendrik had his three sons study law? He who wanted to see his claims to rights and possessions implemented, could not limit himself to a confidential relation with the sovereign. Knowledge of the law and legal procedures appeared to be necessary to achieve actual results. Hendrik van Wassenaar must have realized this, probably as a result of his own frustrations.

Hendrik's personality must have been susceptible to such an insight. Although it is dangerous, for want of autobiographical documents, to pronounce upon the personal motives of a late-medieval nobleman, it cannot be coincidental that what remained of Hendrik's archives bears the traces of a need for the recording of rights and of supporting them with written proof.

Probably Hendrik was personally responsible for the creation of a register in which documents were systematically collected which functioned as evidence of the rights of the Wassenaar family. The register opens with a document bearing the title: 'The origins of the Viscounts of Leiden and Lords of Wassenaar'. It is a concise genealogy, not of the Wassenaar family so much as of the Viscounts of Leiden. The list opens with Viscount Jacob (1201–1241). His contemporary Philip van Wassenaar (1200) is not mentioned. The first Wassenaar mentioned by name is Philip III (†1345), the one who acquired the viscounty of Leiden.⁴⁸ It is clear that the rights to the

⁴⁶ Mentioned in Pabon, *Hofboeken*, 43 and 48; see also Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Het Lange Voorhout*, 279.

⁴⁷ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 251–252.

⁴⁸ HAT, inv. nr. 7394/2 (reg. A), f. 1.

viscounty were very important to Hendrik when he created the register. Moreover, it is remarkable that the archives contain a number of *vidimi*, issued by the city of Bruges on 27 July 1424, of a number of old charters of enfeoffment which formed the basis for the possessions of the Wassenaar family.⁴⁹ Hendrik's wife Catherine came from Bruges but it may well be the case that Hendrik was in Bruges for political reasons. The political tension between Jacqueline and John of Bavaria flared up in 1424. Jacqueline prepared an attack, in Bruges Philip the Good had himself appointed heir to John of Bavaria's personal domains, an important step on the road to the complete control of Holland and Zeeland,⁵⁰ and in July it became known that the Holland knight Jan van Vliet had smeared John of Bavaria's prayer book with poison, leading to John's death a few months later. The attack threw the county into disarray, and it is quite conceivable that in this confusion Hendrik thought it sensible to secure the most important documents in his archives in order to prevent himself from having to give up his attempts to regain the lost viscount rights for want of evidence.⁵¹ This act was not startling in itself, but it does complete our picture of a nobleman who aspired to a reinstatement of rights while keeping the importance of legal proof in mind.

Conclusion

Against this background, an explanation of the university education of the three Wassenaar brothers speaks for itself. It is perfectly possible that the journey of Jacob, Jan and Philip to the *studium* of Orléans was encouraged by their father Hendrik, who knew the importance of a thorough legal education from his own experience. Hendrik van Wassenaar's motive may be compared to that of Jean de Lannoy, councillor of Philip the Good who, frustrated by his own inadequate

⁴⁹ HAT, inv. nrs. 7176, 7190, 7708, 7709, 7716.

⁵⁰ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 163–164.

⁵¹ For the confusion about the attack see Prevenier and Smit, *Bronnen dagvaarten*, nrs. 1059 and 1061. For other *vidimi* HAT, inv. nr. 7007/4 and 7011 and Gemeentearchief Leiden, Archieven Stadsheerlijkheden en vroomwateren, inv. nr. 721 (Bruges, 27 Aug. 1424) and 759 (Warmond, 31 Aug. 1434).

education, gave his son the frequently cited advice to seek a good education in Louvain, Cologne or Paris.⁵²

The brothers' stay in Orléans did not bring the Wassenaar family what Hendrik perhaps had expected. Neither Jacob, nor his brother and successor Jan I, nor his son Jan II, the last Lord of Wassenaar from the old lineage, were reinstated to the old rights of the vis-county. And when, after the childless death of Jacob in 1451, the Duke of Burgundy contended that the Wassenaar fiefs should revert to the sovereign, Jan could only secure the renewed possession of his estate from the Duke thanks to the personal arbitration of his prestigious relatives.⁵³ As far as the Wassenaar family was concerned, the adage 'knowledge is power' still had a limited significance.

⁵² Cited by Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 267–268.

⁵³ AGH, inv. nr. 716, c. Noordholland, f. 51v.

EDUCATION OR CONNECTIONS? LEARNED OFFICIALS IN THE COUNCIL OF HOLLAND AND ZEELAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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The Burgundian Dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold went to great efforts to establish more political unity in the principalities they had united in a personal union. They were quite successful in creating central (or supra-regional) institutions that had jurisdiction over all or several of their principalities, such as the Great Council and the Parliament of Mechelen. Not only did the Dukes try to create a stronger administrative unity at a supra-regional level (above the principalities), but also at a regional level. In the principalities that formed the Burgundian personal union, there were institutions with administrative, legal and financial tasks: the regional Councils, Chanceries and *Chambres des comptes*. Apart from the *Chambre des comptes*, these institutions were not created, but were based on already existing court-institutions. The Burgundian Dukes reformed them and reduced or enlarged their territorial jurisdiction.

In recent historical research, little attention has been paid to these regional institutions and to the officials who were part of them. It was the aim of a Flemish-Dutch research project to fill this gap. The project aimed to determine the role of the regional officials in the process of integrating the principalities of Flanders, Brabant and Holland-Zeeland into the Burgundian personal union. Wim Blockmans, Marc Boone and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens were the leaders of this project. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens showed her interest in these institutions already at an early stage; in 1981 she wrote an extensively documented article on the studies and careers of the personnel of the Council of Brabant in the period 1430–1600.¹ Recently, Jan Dumolyn and I completed our dissertations on the regional institutions and officials of Flanders and Holland-Zeeland respectively, in which we presented statistics on the presence of academically trained

¹ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Milieu social'.

men in the regional institutions in the Burgundian period.² It appears that the level of education of the three Councils did not vary very much; whereas forty per cent of the officials in the Councils of Flanders and Brabant were university-trained, in Holland-Zeeland the percentage was only slightly lower: one third of the officials had probably attended university. This is remarkable because the Councils of Flanders and Brabant were said to function on a more or less professional level since 1386 and 1404 respectively, whereas the first reformations of the Council of Holland only started from 1428 onwards. It is possible to argue that in this respect Holland was catching up with Flanders and Brabant in the fifteenth century.

In this article I will explain why a relative large number of university-trained officials showed up in the Council of Holland and Zeeland.³ Furthermore, I will try to find out what the influence of the academically trained was on the daily practice of the Council. Finally, I will demonstrate that a university education alone was not sufficient to obtain a seat in the highest administrative and judicial institution of Holland and Zeeland.

The first question we have to answer is what importance these educated officials had for ambitious princes in later medieval Europe. With their expanding territories it was no longer possible for princes to rule their countries only with the help of their extended family and some noble warriors. They needed more educated men to maintain internal peace and civil order. Moreover, princes wanted to apply one kind of law to their territories and tried to control all kinds of private and local legal authorities. New legal techniques such as reformation, appeal and evocation were introduced to extend and centralize the administration of justice. These new techniques were mainly based on principles from Roman and canon law. Thus, the men who were familiar with these principles became of increased importance to the prince. The Burgundian Dukes followed this strategy. On the one hand, they tried to extend the competence of the regional courts of the principalities like the Council of Holland and Zeeland. On the other hand, they created possibilities to appeal

² Dumolyn, 'Het hogere personeel', chapter 6.1; Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 198–213.

³ The officials of the other regional institutions, the Chancery and the *Chambre des comptes* are not taken into consideration. See for these officials and their level of education: Damen, 'Serveurs professionnels' and id., *Staat van dienst*, 198–213.

verdicts of local and regional courts to the supra-regional Great Council.⁴ Apart from this, the Burgundian Dukes appeared to have a strong interest in classical learning. They paid attention not only to concepts such as the *bien publique* and sovereignty, but, according to Arjo Vanderjagt, the idea of “justice as the foundation of civil society and of concord between the estates and reigning princes” strongly appealed to them. The men who could carry out their ideas and ideals had studied classical authors at university.⁵

Still, we should bear in mind the specific political situation in Holland. The political strife between *Hoeken* and *Kabeljauwen* continued throughout the Burgundian period. Philip the Good himself had used the conflict to come to power in the counties with the help of the *Kabeljauw* cities and nobles. Even after 1436, when Jacqueline of Bavaria, his principal political opponent and leader of the *Hoeken*, died, the parties did not disappear. Only their goal changed: no longer were they for or against the new prince, but they tried to obtain as much influence as possible in the different administrative strata. During the reign of Philip the Good, the *Kabeljauw* political elites were quite unassailable, but their position changed under Charles the Bold. By paying large sums of money to the Duke, *Hoeken* or *Kabeljauwen* could maintain or obtain power in the benches of aldermen. The Prince, personified by his commissioners (mainly members of the Council) who annually renewed the town governments, played both parties off against each other in a very effective way. As the benches of aldermen were not always impartial in their verdicts, there was a strong need for an independent court of appeal such as the Council. But sometimes even this higher court did not function; the States complained in 1445 that the presence of party supporters in the chamber of the Council influenced the outcome of the legal proceedings. It is, therefore, understandable that the number of appeals to the supra-regional Great Council was relatively high in comparison with the other principalities of the Burgundian personal union.⁶ In other words, not only the prince but also the subjects

⁴ Blockmans, *Geschiedenis*, 203–214; Padoa-Schioppa, ‘Conclusions’; Cauchies and De Schepper, ‘Justicie’, 160–162; Van Rompaey, *Grote Raad*, 35–36, 469–470.

⁵ Vanderjagt, ‘Classical Learning’, 276.

⁶ Jansma, *Raad*, 93–94, 154; Van Rompaey, *Grote Raad*, 70, 310; Blockmans, ‘Hierarchisierung’, 271, 276.

benefited from well-functioning impartial courts of justice equipped with competent men.

The level of education

When we look at the universities where the officials studied, it is striking that the most popular universities were Louvain and Cologne. In general these universities were most popular with students from the Netherlands; they were not too far away from home and they could speak their own language. It is uncertain whether all officials studied law at university. Probably most of them only completed an education in the liberal arts. Sometimes the matriculation lists of the universities or the title the officials bore indicate an education at a higher level. At least ten officials completed a doctorate in law.

The level of education differed per office. I could trace none of the governors or stadtholders in the matriculation registers. They contain the name of Johannes de Lannoy who matriculated in 1431 in Cologne but Lannoy here probably refers to the place of origin and not to the family of the same name. Already in 1980, Hilde de Ridder-Symoens questioned the academic education of Stadtholder Jean de Lannoy.⁷ This is confirmed by Jean de Lannoy himself who wrote in a letter to his son that he felt handicapped because of the lack of a good education. He stated that he did not even dare to open his mouth during the sessions of the Council after the “clers éloquens légistes et ystorians” had spoken.⁸ Although this seems to be a case of literary modesty—how else could Lannoy have maintained his position as head of the Council of Holland for almost fifteen years?—we may trust the general content of this outpouring.

In contrast to the stadtholders and the financially orientated receiver-general, the two presidents and all four solicitors-generals had an academic background. Both presidents in the Burgundian period were doctors of law. The office of president was not yet an established office as was the case in the Council of Flanders. In 1445, Philip the Good appointed a president, Goeswijn de Wilde, instead of a

⁷ *Matricule*, ed. Reusens, I, 345 nr. 2. De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Adel en universiteiten’, 426, n. 71, this in contrast to De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean*, 17.

⁸ De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean*, 120.

new governor. This appointment of a legally trained president (De Wilde probably studied at Bologna), together with a clerk of the court aimed to establish a more professional institution. The Duke, however, did not anticipate the resentment caused in certain sectors of society by president Goeswijn de Wilde. His successor had to be a man of distinction who could replace the Prince in all respects. That is why in 1448 Philip the Good appointed a stadtholder, an officer who would play a crucial role in the counties for years to come.⁹

In 1474 a president was appointed again, although the new officer only acted in absence of Stadtholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse. The new president, Jan van Halewijn, had already been a member of the Council of Holland since 1463. Van Halewijn had had a good academic education. In 1433 he appears in the enrolment registers of Louvain. We do not know where Jan van Halewijn studied afterwards, but in 1467 he is called a “doctoir in beyden rechten” (doctor of Roman and canon law).¹⁰

In contrast to the attorney-general, the solicitor-general was always an academically trained official. Two of the four solicitors are even classified as *doctor legum* and obtained their titles at Italian universities.¹¹ Whereas the first attorney-general was appointed in 1434, it was not until 1463 that the first solicitor-general made his entry in the Council of Holland. His most important task was to plead the cases which the attorney-general brought before the Council. Moreover, he had to take care of the production of all documents needed for the trials. Finally, he had to look after the interests of poor persons without receiving any fee. He was also allowed to act as a solicitor for private persons.¹² In the instruction for the Council of 1480 it is stated that one should seek the help of private solicitors who were said to be “learned men”. Again there is a sharp contrast with the private attorneys who are classified as “unlearned persons”.¹³ It

⁹ On these offices: Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 50–65.

¹⁰ Archiefdienst Kennemerland, Haarlem, Kloosterarchieven (St.-Jan), inv. nr. 203.

¹¹ Adriaan Lottinsz and Bartout van Assendelft. Both obtained their degree in Italy at Padua and Ferrara respectively; Tervoort, *Iter italicum*, II, 5 and 21–22.

¹² Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 97–104. See the instruction of 1462 (article nr. 4) for the tasks of the solicitor-general: Cau, *Groot plaacet-boeck*, III, 631–643.

¹³ The instruction of 1480 can be found in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, written passage in incunabel nr. 14 (see Da Costa (ed.), *Catalogus*, nr. 803). I thank

was not until 1520 that all attorneys-generals had an academic education.¹⁴

The councillors

Nearly a third of all councillors visited one or more universities. This figure is relatively low in comparison with the Councils of Brabant and Flanders. In Brabant the percentage of university-trained councillors was already forty per cent in the second quarter of the fifteenth century and rose to a hundred per cent in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Already at the beginning of the fifteenth century, professional lawyers obtained the majority in the Council of Flanders, whereas in the sixteenth century a law-degree became an explicit condition to hold a position as councillor.¹⁵ Holland made up its arrears in the Burgundian period. Although there was only one salaried councillor with an academic education in 1428, nearly all appointed councillors after 1500 had the title of master, an indication (but no more than that) of a study at a university.¹⁶

The question is whether those academically educated councillors were appointed only because of their expertise or whether there were other reasons. Jan van Montfoort for example was originally destined for an ecclesiastical career and it was only by coincidence that he became one of the most important councillors of Jacqueline of Bavaria. That is why Jan was the only academic to be a member of the Council of 1428 that was constituted after the Treaty of Delft of 1428 between Philip the Good and Jacqueline of Bavaria.¹⁷ The treaty states, among other things, that the nine councillors had to

Robert Stein for the transcription. Article 127: "Item, dit is van den advocaten aldair geordineert, die notable clercken zijn, om dat bij middele van den voirs. procureurs, die puerleyke ende ongeleerde persoenen zijn (. . .)." Article 128: "Item, het zij zoe dat die partien omme der meerder sekerheyt van hoiren saken eenen geleerden man ende advocaet hebben willen ende nemen om hoire zaken bij hem gespeijdt te worde." See on this Le Bailly, *Recht voor de Raad*, 175–176.

¹⁴ See the list of masters from that year onwards in *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, lv–lvi.

¹⁵ Brabant: Godding, *Conseil*, 79–83 and De Ridder-Symoens, 'Milieu', 284–285. Flanders: Dumolyn, 'Conseillers' and Van Peteghem, 'Raad', 139.

¹⁶ *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, xlv–liiii.

¹⁷ See on the Montfoort family Van der Linden, *De Burggraven van Montfoort* and Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 176–181.

be “goede reckelicke mannen, genegen tot pays ende tot vrede” (in French: “bonnes gens et notables et affectez au bien du paix”); after three years of civil war it is logical that the new councillors had to be good, righteous and peace-loving men.¹⁸

However, the number of academics in the Council rose constantly in the fifteenth century. There are two clear caesuras, coinciding with two important reformations of the institution, that is in 1445 and in 1462. In 1445 the two Flemish masters Hendrik Utenhove and Lodewijk van der Eycke were accompanied by two doctors of Roman Law, Goeswijn de Wilde as president and Gillis van Wissenkerke as councillor. Both had obtained their degree in Bologna.¹⁹ It was not until 1463 that a majority of the councillors (five out of eight) had attended university. One year later the number of academically educated even increased to six. One could argue that this was a consequence of the Instruction for the Council of 1462. In article 1 of this document it is stated that the councillors should be “notabele mannen, wel besocht ende geexperimenteert in saecken van justitie”. Now, their qualities as peacekeepers were not stressed but the fact that they should be men of distinction, experienced in legal matters.²⁰ So the prince and the States, on whose demands the instruction had been based, firstly valued experience, whereas they did not mention the required level of education.

Of course a councillor could have both a good education and much experience. The best insurance, however, for an appointment to the highest court of Holland and Zeeland was to belong to the right network. Charles of Charolais (the later Charles the Bold) played an influential role in the reformation of the Council of 1463. In that year, officials who were closely linked to the heir apparent were appointed to strategic positions in the regional institutions. The new Stadtholder Lodewijk van Gruuthuse for instance had been in Charles' service as a councillor-chamberlain since 1460. Probably he had a say in the appointment of his fellow-townsmen from Bruges, master Jan van Halewijn, with whom he had made a diplomatic trip to Scotland a few years before. Moreover, Jan had been a councillor-

¹⁸ Van Mieris, *Groot Charterboek*, IV, 917; Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille, Serie B (hereafter ADN B), inv. nr. 299.

¹⁹ See their biographies in Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 497–498.

²⁰ Cau, *Groot placacet-boeck*, III, 631.

requestmaster of Charles of Charolais since 1460.²¹ Although his appointment could be explained on the basis of these connections, it has to be taken into account that Van Halewijn had had a good academic education. In 1433 he appears in the matriculation lists of Louvain. In that year he did his *determinatio*, the test for admission to the exam of *baccalaureus* in the Faculty of Arts. One month later Jan Petitpas did the same test.²² Probably they became friends and later on their lives crossed again. Just like Van Halewijn, Petitpas appears as a councillor-requestmaster of Charles of Charolais in 1460, and he would also be appointed to the Council of Holland in 1463.²³

In 1477 the number of university-trained councillors fell to three. It was a consequence of the political crisis of that year. Duchess Mary of Burgundy granted the States the so-called Great Privilege in that year, which did not permit the appointment of 'foreign' officials in Holland and Zeeland. This meant that the stadtholder and the foreign councillors, who were all academics, had to abandon The Hague. Moreover, in the Great Privilege it was stated that six of the eight councillors should be native "notabele clercken off costumiers". This meant that apart from the academically educated councillors, there was a place for councillors who were familiar with customary law. The Great Privileges of other principalities like Flanders and Brabant included similar stipulations. In 1477 the States generally tried to decentralize the administration of justice and put customary law to the foreground. The central court of justice, the Parliament of Mechelen, was abolished and new legal procedures such as reformation and evocation were put under restrictions.²⁴ The influence of the States, in which the cities dominated, was reflected in the composition of the Council. It is understandable that the former pensionary of Amsterdam, master Jacob Ruysch, could remain in office. The secretary of Dordrecht, Cornelis de Jonge, joined him on the Council. Moreover, the solicitor of the cities of Leiden and Haarlem, master Bartout van Assendelft, was appointed solicitor-

²¹ ADN B inv. nr. 2040, f. 140r, 154v, 155r and inv. nr. 2045, f. 142v.

²² *Matricule*, ed. Reusens, I, 166 nrs. 16 and 33.

²³ See for more names and references my chapter on the network of Charles of Charolais in *Staat van dienst*, 311–333, especially 324–325.

²⁴ Jongkees, 'Groot Privilege', 290; id. (ed.), 'Privilege', 219, 221 articles [5], [10], [11]; Blockmans, 'Betekenis', 486; Van Rompaey, *Grote Raad*, 132.

general.²⁵ Again it is possible to argue that both their knowledge and skills, and their contacts were decisive to their appointment. In 1480, when Maximilian of Austria took the initiative for a reformation of the Council, the academics regained their majority (six out of eight) in the Council.

Bureaucratization and centralization

The question is whether the increased presence of jurists in the Council had an effect on the way the Council worked. When we look at the way the trials were registered, there are two remarkable dividing-lines. Both in the years 1445–1447 and the years 1463–1467 the number of notes in the registers of the Council increased significantly.²⁶ These years coincide with a rise in the number of academically educated lawyers in the Council. Moreover, there were always two or three lawyers among the four most active members of the Council. The Fleming master Lodewijk van der Eycke—he studied at Cologne—was not only the councillor with the longest term of office (from 1442 to 1477), but he was also the most active councillor.²⁷ On the other hand, there were academically educated councillors who hardly showed up at the Council.²⁸

In the fifteenth century the way in which the Council operated became more and more rational, one could even say bureaucratic. The time which the councillors dedicated to their meetings in the chamber of the Council was particularly regulated. In the instructions of 1462 and 1480, there are several articles on the working schedules per day, week and year. Between Easter and 1 October the councillors had to be present in the chamber from seven to ten o'clock. In autumn and winter they were permitted to start one hour later, but then they had to work until eleven. In the afternoon they probably had to work from three to five, as was usual in the Great

²⁵ See for their career their biographies in Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 443, 467, 489.

²⁶ See table 4.2 in Le Bailly, *Recht voor de Raad*, 123.

²⁷ In the years 1448, 1449, 1452–1455, 1457, 1459 and 1464 his name is mentioned most in the subscriptions where the names of present councillors of the meetings of the Council are listed. In 1460 and 1462 he is 'number two' after master Hendrik van der Mije and master Adriaan Lottinsz, both academics as well. See the figures in appendix III of Damen, *Staat van dienst*.

²⁸ *Ibid.* For example Adolf van der Marck and Jan Petitpas.

Council. The instructions show that every day had to be dedicated to a special task: on Mondays and Wednesdays the pleas were held. On Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays the Council revised the records and reports of the lawsuits. This was called the *visitatie*. The councillors also dedicated these days to the expedition of all kinds of acts and documents. Sometimes the councillors even worked on Sundays. On the other hand, they had good holidays. The councillors had a summer holiday (from 15 August to 1 September); a Christmas holiday (from 22 December to 3 January) and they had several days off for Easter and Whitsuntide. In the chamber there was a special calendar on which the holy days, when special saints were remembered in Holland, were celebrated. On these days the Council was not obliged to meet.²⁹ Moreover, the councillors were urged not to waste any time during the meetings; article 82 of the instruction of 1462 states that after the general discussion every councillor has to give his opinion without arguing and without repeating what had been said before.³⁰

The question is of course whether these changes can only be ascribed to the academics. Probably due to the rise in the number of lawsuits, the Council had to be more efficient with its time. On the other hand, the prince expected his employees to do what they were paid for. At the beginning of the Burgundian reign, the councillors received yearly salaries, which were relatively high compared to the wages of the members of the Councils of Flanders and Brabant. Philip the Good created attractive conditions of employment in order to promote the stability of the institutions and to create a loyal and serving attitude of the officials. The turning point in this policy was 1447. From that year onwards the salaries were reduced. Pay cuts and a switch to a system of daily wages (in 1463 implemented by Charles of Charolais) had as a consequence that the salaries at the end of the Burgundian period were reduced to the same level as those in the Councils of Brabant and Flanders.³¹ Finally, one should not forget that efficient trials were also what the States wanted. On

²⁹ Le Bailly, *Recht voor de Raad*, 159–168. Cau, *Groot placet-boeck*, III, articles 80, 111, 112.

³⁰ Cau, *Groot placet-boeck*, III, article 82: “Ende na dat die matirie gedebatteert wesen sal ende dat men opinien vraeght, elck sal sijn opinie seggen sonder in argumenten te treden ende sonder te verhalen tgunst dat dander geseyt sal hebben, op dat men daer mede geen tijdt en verliese”.

³¹ On the development of the wages Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 217–231.

the one hand, subjects indirectly paid for the Council via subsidies and, on the other hand, they were the people who used its services.

But there are more than 'administrative' changes to be observed. Philippe Godding showed that the procedure followed by the Council of Brabant in the fifteenth century was increasingly based on the principles of Roman and canon Law. Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly, who investigated the legal practice of the Council of Holland and Zeeland, comes to the same conclusions. It is significant that for example the procedures of appeal and of default of appearance were styled in accordance with the procedures of the supreme courts of France and the Burgundian lands, the Parliament of Paris and the Great Council. These procedures were established in the instruction for the Council of 1462.³² This can be explained by the fact that some academically educated councillors, like the already mentioned Flemings Utenhove, Van der Eycke, Halewijn and Petitpas, were active both on a central level as members of the Great Council, and on a regional level as members of the Council of Holland and Zeeland. They had to ensure that the administration of justice by the Council of Holland and Zeeland would support the interests of the prince and that the legal procedures of the Council were geared to those of the Great Council.

Not only the procedures but also the judgements of the Council changed. We observe, for example, how the attitude of the Council towards lese majesty changed. Insults of officials of the Council were increasingly considered to be a form of lese majesty and concepts of Roman law were applied to these cases. Again the years 1445 and 1463 are clear dividing-lines.³³

Mobility

Who then were the academics who made their professional careers in The Hague? It is striking that one third of them were born outside Holland or Zeeland. Already from the beginning of the reign of Philip the Good in Holland and Zeeland 'foreigners' had been appointed, not only in the Council but also in the *Chambre des comptes*

³² Godding, *Conseil*, 469–470; Le Bailly, *Recht voor de Raad*, 155–156; Le Bailly, 'Betekenis', 93–94, 98–100.

³³ Le Bailly, 'Un cas particulier', 106 and 109 n. 48.

and in the Chancery. They were of crucial importance to the prince for three reasons: namely, their bilingualism (French and Dutch), expertise and reliability. The foreign officials were supposed to guarantee an effective monitoring of the regional administrative machinery, and act as a liaison for the prince and the supra-regional institutions. In general the foreign presidents and councillors stationed in The Hague were academically trained and had experience in the jurisdiction of the Great Council.

It is likely that at the beginning of the Burgundian period, the prince had few native university graduates at his disposal. Those who had an academic title generally aspired to an ecclesiastical career, and the chapters of Utrecht offered most opportunities for this. The foundation of the University of Louvain in 1425 proved to be of crucial importance: now there was a university in a Dutch speaking area that, moreover, was nearer than Cologne for students from Holland and Zeeland. As a result, there were more options open to the prince for choosing academically trained natives than before.³⁴ Only after 1477, however, did native university graduates take over at the helm of the Council.

Increasingly nobles realized that an academic education was important were they to maintain their privileged positions in the institutions.³⁵ Stadtholders Guillaume de Lalaing and Jean de Lannoy, both nobles from the French-speaking parts of Hainault and Flanders respectively, wanted their children to be instructed by a learned man so that they could write and speak Latin, French and Dutch. Afterwards they sent their children to Latin schools in Louvain, Cologne or Paris.³⁶ The names of these cities indicate that a university education was the next logical step. Still, it is remarkable that the nobles of Holland and Zeeland were quite reserved when it came to visiting a university. Judging from the libraries of the councillors Jan van Egmond (†1451) and Frank van Borselen (†1470), they were educated men who read books on astronomy and history.³⁷ But we look in vain for the names of these leading noble families in the fifteenth century matriculation lists of the European universities. The

³⁴ Damen, 'Serviteurs' and Millet and Moraw, 'Clerics', 174, 178.

³⁵ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Adel en universiteiten', 431-432.

³⁶ Naber, 'Bourgondische edelen', 250-251; Beaune (ed.), 'Livre des faits', 1210; Dansaert and De Lannoy, *Jean de Lannoy*, 319.

³⁷ Nijsten, *Hof*, 178-182, 422-423; Janse, 'Rekening', 116.

Van Wassenaar family is an exception to this rule. Although the councillor Hendrik van Wassenaar did not study himself, he sent his sons Jan (who became a member of the Council just like his father), Filips and Jacob to Orléans in 1444.³⁸ He clearly realized the advantages of a university education.

The nobles we do find in the enrolment registers do not belong to the older lineages but have more humble origins. Gerrit van Assendelft is a good example. He was one of the longest serving members of the Council, from 1453 until his death in 1486, surviving all institutional reformations and political crises. The basis of his education and career was formed at the convent school of Middelburg. He left the abbot 300 Rhenish guilders in his will, although in his view this amount could not compensate for the profit and advantage he obtained from his education. Afterwards he continued his education at the University of Cologne, although we do not know if he obtained a degree. Just like Hendrik van Wassenaar he sent his sons Jan and Klaas to the University of Orléans.³⁹ Orléans was a good choice for ambitious students. It was the university *par excellence* for the study of Roman law. Moreover, being there one could learn French, which was still the administrative language in the supra-regional administration of the Burgundian Netherlands.⁴⁰ Attending the *studium* of Orléans became a tradition in the Van Assendelft family and this policy was fruitful for the careers of its members. In the first half of the sixteenth century Gerrit's grandson and namesake Gerrit van Assendelft, who studied at Orléans as well, became president of the Council for thirty years.⁴¹

Apart from the Assendelft family, we have to mention the families Ruychrock van den Werve and Oom van Wijngaarden here. The ancestors of these families, Jan Ruychrock and Godschalk Oom, were financial experts who started their careers in the surroundings of a powerful noble family (the Van Borselen in the case of Ruychrock)

³⁸ De Ridder-Symoens, Ridderikhoff and Illmer, *Premier livre, II, Biographies*, I, nrs. 3–5. See also the article by Antheun Janse in this volume.

³⁹ Rijksarchief Noord-Holland, Collectie losse aanwinsten, inv. nr. 1003, f. 3v–4r, 7v; *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 329 nr. 50; De Ridder-Symoens, Ridderikhoff and Illmer, *Premier livre, II Biographies*, I, nrs. 129–130.

⁴⁰ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Studenten uit het bisdom Utrecht', 80.

⁴¹ De Ridder-Symoens, Ridderikhoff and Illmer, *Premier livre, Biographies*, I, nr. 427; *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, xxxiv. On his position among the nobility and his *mesalliance* Van Nierop, *Van ridders tot regenten*, 92–96.

and a powerful city (Dordrecht in the case of Oom). They switched to the service of the Burgundian Dukes (Ruychrock was a member of the Council, Oom was receiver-general of Holland and Zeeland), became rich and invested their wealth in the acquisition of lands and fiefs. They sent their sons to university (again Orléans appears in their curricula) and they would later follow in their fathers' footsteps, when they became members of the Council of Holland and Zeeland. Filips Ruychrock even rose to be a member of the Great Council. Although these social climbers—the Ruychrocks and Ooms became members of the Knighthood of Holland in the second half of the fifteenth century—are exceptions, we have to bear in mind that lacking a noble tradition, these men chose an effective way to guarantee their new social position, namely an academic education.⁴²

Nevertheless, there were academics who never reached noble status. There were city-dwellers who, thanks to their university education, made a career in the administration of cities and towns. Most cities in the Netherlands frequently made use of the services of academics. The so-called pensionaries represented the cities in lawsuits before the Council or Great Council, and they negotiated on behalf of the city with the representatives of the prince during the diets on new subsidies in exchange for new privileges and more autonomy.⁴³ On these occasions some of them came into contact with men with whom they had studied. They originated from the same milieu, spoke the same idiom, and were on the same wavelength; they only served different interests. But that was about to change. The Burgundian Dukes had a strong preference for these schooled pensionaries when recruiting new officials. A switch from the city's service to the prince's service had advantages for both parties. The prince knew these men personally from the negotiations in the past and could be certain that the new officials were experienced in matters of law. Moreover, they could inform him about the political strategies of the cities and influence the city-administration when important decisions had to be made, for example, concerning the subsidies. A career in the service

⁴² See for the careers of members of the Ruychrock and Oom family Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 479–480, 488. Study at Orléans: De Ridder-Symoens and Illmer, *Premier livre, Biographies*, I, nrs. 61 (Hendrik Oom) and 71 (Filips Ruychrock) and De Ridder-Symoens, 'Studenten uit het bisdom Utrecht', 90–91. The acquisition of fiefs is described by Janse, 'Het leenbezit', 179–180.

⁴³ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Training and Professionalization', 155.

of the prince also had advantages for the pensionary. He could earn a higher salary and obtain other material advantages such as gifts and fiefs. Moreover, as a princely officer he could reach a higher status. The cities always lost the battle for the most talented pensionaries, although they tried by all means to keep them in their own service. In 1451, the pensionaries of Ghent even had to swear that they would never join the duke's service.⁴⁴

It is not very surprising that Ghent obliged its officials to remain loyal to the town. In the past many pensionaries had switched to the duke's service. Two members of the Council of Holland, Hendrik Utenhove and Lodewijk van der Eycke, had been pensionaries of the city at the beginning of their careers. However, a third pensionary of Gent, who was appointed solicitor-general in 1463, never showed up in The Hague. Hendrik Utenhove was endowed with many gifts and presents in the 1420s, when he was still in Ghent's service. The Duke awarded him with money and silverware for services rendered. In these years he represented Ghent on many occasions at the diets of the Four Members (the States of Flanders) with the Prince. Apparently he not only looked after the interests of his present but also of his future employer. It was to his advantage that both parties trusted him. On several occasions when internal or external problems occurred, the Four Members sent Utenhove to the Duke with the request to return to Flanders. On the other hand, the Duke probably wanted to be informed about the social unrest in Ghent so that he could take measures to avoid escalation. Finally in 1431 Utenhove switched sides and became councillor-request-master in the Great Council. This was not well received by the people of Ghent. On the occasion of an uprising of the weavers in August 1432, he and other (former) members of the city-administration "who loved the prince", had to pay for it. As Utenhove had already fled the town, the crowd plundered his house and destroyed most of its contents. It is understandable that two months later Utenhove willingly accepted his appointment as member of the Council of Holland and Zeeland, in order to be far away from the turbulent political arena in Flanders.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Prevenier, 'Ambtenaren', 49; Boone, 'Juristes', 111; Rogghé, 'Gentse klerken', 120.

⁴⁵ Biographies on Utenhove and Van der Eycke in Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 460, 492. Gifts to Utenhove: ADN B, inv. nr. 1925, f. 72v; inv. nr. 1931, f. 93v; inv.

Conclusion

In the later Middle Ages the academically trained officials provided the leading dynasties of the expanding European states with know-how and knowledge. They helped the princes to expand their power and keep the machinery of their institutions working. Like other medieval princes, the Dukes of Burgundy made particular use of the services of university-educated officials in their councils on a supra-regional and a regional level. We have to admit, however, that the increase of learned officials was not only a planned strategy by the prince. The States, the representatives of the subjects, had a major influence on the institutional reformations of the Council of Holland in 1462–1463 and 1477. We should not forget that the subjects were also interested in a well-functioning and impartial higher court of justice. Moreover, several university-trained officials were nominated to the Council, simply because they belonged to the right network. While in 1462–1463 Charles of Charolais was able to place his trustees, most of them graduates, in several strategic positions in the Council, in 1477 the States themselves managed to push forward their own men, former pensionaries and solicitors of the cities.

Not all of the consequences of a more university-educated Council are clear. There are two significant moments (1445 and 1463) when the rise of university-educated officials coincides with changes in the way the Council operated. The question remains whether these men were the driving force behind these changes or whether they were appointed simply because they were the only ones who could work with the changing procedures.

The councillors who originated from Flanders can be considered to be the most important group among the university-trained councillors. Apart from their academic merits they had other qualities, which made them the duke's favourite agents in his northernmost territories. For them an appointment in Holland implied both geographical and social mobility. This is also the case for native councillors with more humble origins. For them a university degree was

nr. 1933, f. 121r; inv. nr. 1942, f. 91v. Utenhove on diets: Blockmans, *Handelingen 1419–1438*, nrs. 189, 233, 246–249, 261, 455. On social unrest and the uprising of the weavers: Lambin (ed.), *Merkwaardige gebeurtenissen*, 137 and Boone, *Gent*, 215–220.

the basis of a career. Most of them started in a city as solicitors or as pensionaries and they ended up in the duke's service. In the fifteenth century a university education became increasingly necessary to nobles, to maintain their dominant positions in the administrative institutions.

THE CITY MAGISTRACY IN LEIDEN AND ACADEMIC
LEGAL ADVICE AROUND THE MIDDLE OF THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Madelon van Luijk

The accounts of the Leiden burgomasters and the *Vroedschapsboeken* (registers of city council resolutions) contain four references to *consilia* in the period between 1452 and 1462. A *consilium* is a written advice by one or more lawyers, constructed according to the scholastic method. Two of these recommendations came from the University of Cologne, one from Louvain and one from Paris. These *consilia*, thus far ignored by research, are located at the crossroads of the city and the university. The *consilia*, which were committed to paper and sent to the petitioner, have not been preserved. At least they cannot be found in the Leiden city archives. The university archives did not save them unless a particular case had been discussed in a faculty meeting. Quite strikingly, we are able to reconstruct the historical context of the *consilia* almost entirely without having the manuscripts at our disposal. This context is of great importance. What do the *consilia* say about the role of learned law in the city council and about the education and learning of the city magistracy and its officials? In order to answer these questions we will take the four *consilia* in the Leiden sources as a starting point. For each case, five subjects will be discussed: the procedure for the application of a *consilium*, the subject about which the magistracy required advice, the lawyer who formulated the *consilium*, the costs of the *consilium* and, finally, its consequences. First the genre of *consilia* will be explained, particularly in the university context.

The university context: consilia

A *consilium*, also called *responsum*, *consultacio*, *decisio* or *Gutachten* did not answer hypothetical or abstract legal questions. On the contrary, it was an advice containing references to concrete cases which were mostly the subject of conflicts. *Consilia* related to the practical needs

of legal persons who turned to the legal competence of advisers in situations of emergency and crisis.¹ They offer an understanding of the practice and application of learned law at a local and regional level.

The genre of *consilium* developed late in legal history. Its roots lie in the *responsa* by students of Roman law. In Northern Italy we find the first signs of advisory activities of lawyers during the renaissance of learned law in the second half of the twelfth century. They were recommendations for cities in that area. From the fourteenth century, certain legal questions were explored in more depth in *quaestiones disputatae* and *consilia*. Lawyers not only advised on church matters but also on civil and secular issues. That is, they interpreted canon and civil law. *Consilia* provided answers to concrete questions and problems, and thus were jurisprudence. In the Netherlands we encounter these advisory activities of lawyers, and later theologians, for the first time in Flanders.²

Four basic types of *consilia* can be distinguished. The first type concerns recommendations which were given by individual lawyers (also called *Privatgutachten*). The second type concerns recommendations constructed by a collective of lawyers who did not belong to an institute (*Parteigutachten*). The third type of advice is the one formulated by the members of a court of justice (*Gerichtsgutachten*). Finally, the fourth type concerns recommendations by members of a Law or Theology Faculty (*Fakultätsgutachten*).³ The four types basically had the same structure and outward form. Firstly, the facts of the case were described (*species facti*). Subsequently, the legal questions were enumerated (*quaestiones*). Then the lawyer formulated his advice with arguments for and against (*pro and contra*) and gave the final outcome (*solutio*).⁴ Giving legal advice was a lucrative and, therefore, popular activity among lawyers during the late Middle Ages.⁵

¹ Erler and Kaufmann, *Handwörterbuch*, II, 1102–1105; Baumgärtner, 'Einführung', 9; Kisch, *Consilia*, 19; Wagner, 'Sechster Abschnitt', 1420.

² Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 109–110, 118; Baumgärtner, 'Einführung', 11; Le Bras, Lefebvre and Rambaud, *L'âge classique*, 323, 333–334; Erler and Kaufmann, *Handwörterbuch*, II, 1102–1105; De Ridder-Symoens, 'Conseils juridiques', 393.

³ Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 145; Wagner, 'Sechster Abschnitt', 1421. In the English-language literature these German terms are also used.

⁴ Erler and Kaufmann, *Handwörterbuch*, II, 1102–1105; Wagner, 'Sechster Abschnitt', 1422.

⁵ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Conseils juridiques', 398.

Consilia were usually requested by institutions and organisations. In the late Middle Ages the Law Faculty of the University of Cologne gave advice to several groups: for example an advice to the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life in 1398, and two fifteenth-century recommendations to the Chapter of Windesheim, which united the monasteries following the Rule of Saint Augustine in the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and Germany.⁶ One of these *consilia* was the result of a cooperation between professors of the universities of Cologne and Louvain. Even popes turned to universities for advice; in 1422 Pope Martin V asked lawyers at Cologne whether the papal Curia was allowed to sell annuities.⁷ Finally, *consilia* addressed to city councils have been preserved.⁸

The city context: the Leiden magistracy and its officials

In the fifteenth century the city of Leiden was governed by a magistracy which consisted of a sheriff, four burgomasters and eight aldermen. The magistracy was assisted by the *Vroedschap*, a council consisting of former members of the city government which originally had a merely advisory task, but which developed into a council with a regulating and decision-making function in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1449 the Council of Forty was established, which partly coincided with the *Vroedschap* and which compiled a list with the names of sixteen candidate aldermen, eight of whom were elected.⁹

For the interpretation of the *consilia* in the Leiden sources it is important to know about the level of education of the magistracy and its officials, since this offers an insight into the knowledge they had at their disposal. In his study of the Leiden elite in the fifteenth century, H. Brand mentions that from the middle of that century the city government counted an increasing number of academics

⁶ Bohne, 'Die juristische Fakultät', 161; Muther, 'Cölner Rechtsgutachten', 245–251. For the *consilia* written for the Chapter of Windesheim, see: Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 121–122, 146–147. One of these *consilia* has been published: see De Vreese, *De simonia ad Beguttas*, 67–84.

⁷ Bohne, 'Die juristische Fakultät', 165.

⁸ For instance to the city government of Nuremberg; Bohne, 'Die juristische Fakultät', 169.

⁹ Brand, *Macht*, 54–55.

among its members, but their total number was still small.¹⁰ The University of Cologne held the greatest attraction: between 1421 and 1480 at least 210 people from Leiden enrolled there as students. In the period 1425–1480 83 people from Leiden did the same at the University of Louvain.¹¹ Of the universities further afield, Paris was the most popular. Gradually, a university education came to be seen as a good basis for governmental affairs. However, in spite of this intellectual progression, wealth and descent were for the time being still of overriding importance for election to the magistracy. For instance, in the period 1450–1479 only five per cent of the Leiden magistrates had completed an academic education.¹²

The magistracy was assisted by officials who did not have political responsibilities, but who were involved in the administration of the city finances and public representative functions.¹³ In this context the positions of the clerk and the pensionary were especially important. The clerk bore the responsibility for the chancellery, a position which became a lucrative matter because of the income attached to it.¹⁴ Initially the clerk was appointed by the Count of Holland, albeit at the request of the city government. From 1357 Leiden was allowed to appoint its own clerk.¹⁵ The magistracy made the office inaccessible to strangers: to become a clerk one had to have been a burgher of the city for seven years. However, it often happened that the prince tried to impose his own choice of candidate, which led to resistance from the magistracy.¹⁶ After the death of the clerk Jan Rose in 1447, the city wished to control the office of clerk.¹⁷

Around 1450 a division of tasks took place within the office of clerk. The clerk continued to work for the chancellery, while a

¹⁰ Ibid. 267. See for the situation in Louvain and Antwerp: De Ridder-Symoens, 'Universitaire vorming', 21–126.

¹¹ Brand, *Macht*, 267. Only from 1575 onwards could inhabitants of Leiden enjoy a university education in their own city.

¹² This percentage must be considered a minimum because of the problematic identification of the people mentioned in the enrolment registers. See Brand, *Macht*, 269.

¹³ Ibid. 141.

¹⁴ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 92.

¹⁵ Ibid. 93.

¹⁶ In 1425 Filips Witbrood was appointed as clerk in Leiden at the insistence of the count; he asked somebody else to replace him, though. See Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 94; Kokken, *Steden en staten*, 179.

¹⁷ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 100.

second official, the pensionary, represented the city to the outside world, especially in matters with legal implications.¹⁸ The creation of the office of the pensionary was significant in itself. Around the middle of the fifteenth century the cities had a need for administrative support from an educated lawyer. They were looking for somebody who could adequately help the city government in its contacts with the officials of the prince. When compared to other cities in Holland, this development took place relatively early in Leiden.¹⁹ For specialized positions, such as pensionary, a university-educated lawyer was henceforth appointed. At the same time lawyers themselves aspired to an administrative career in the city as full-time officials.²⁰

The first Cologne consilium, 1452

For September 1452 the Leiden register containing the resolutions of the *Vroedschap* mentions a legal advice given by master Vastert from Cologne.²¹ This lawyer wrote an advice (that is, a *Privatgutachten*) for the Council of Holland about the Imperial ban (*Rijksacht*), an issue regularly discussed by the cities of Holland from the 1430s onwards at the *dagvaarten* (meetings of the States of Holland).²² This was not a *consilium* requested by the Leiden magistracy but an advice we encounter in the Leiden city sources, because the magistracy was indirectly involved. Holland merchants were detained in the German Empire for the debts of other Hollanders. During the *dagvaarten*, the cities were looking for ways to persuade the Emperor to break this habit so that merchants were free to go and trade.²³ In August 1452

¹⁸ Brand, *Macht*, 141; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 104–105. For a different interpretation of the origins of the office of pensionary, see: Hugenholtz, 'Clerc (secretaris) en pensionaris', 220–234.

¹⁹ Kokken, 'Leidse pensionaris', 124; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 100, 102.

²⁰ Brand, *Macht*, 267; Kokken, 'Leidse pensionaris', 128; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 92. With the exception of master Jacob van der Sande (1481–1484) all pensionaries appointed after 1448 had one or both law degrees.

²¹ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 381, f. 14v.

²² *Ibid.*, f. 36r.

²³ With thanks to Dr M.-C. Le Bailly of the Institute of Dutch History (ING) who was kind enough to trace this issue in the *dagvaarten* of Holland. The ING is working on the second part of the publication of the *dagvaarten* of Holland in the period 1434–1466, edited by J.G. Smit. See for part I and III: Prevenier and Smit (eds.), *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der dagvaarten*.

the city of Cologne, which laboured to abolish the Imperial ban, instructed master Vastert to settle this case with Holland.²⁴ Following Vastert's advice, the Leiden magistracy decided to send one or two people to Cologne for further deliberations.

The master Vastert mentioned above is the Cologne lawyer Vastert Bareyt (also called Fastrardus Bareit or Boreit de Busco). He was doctor of Roman law (*doctor legum*), from Bois-le-Duc, in the diocese of Liège. He is mentioned in the sources from 1405 to 1479. In 1425 he enrolled as a student at the University of Cologne. In 1431 he became a licentiate in canon law (*licentiatus decretorum*) at Pavia, and from 1437 to 1479 he was professor at the University of Cologne.²⁵ Bareyt was frequently involved in providing *consilia*, amongst others to the regular canons at Louvain, the Chapter of Windesheim and the city government of Cologne.²⁶

Master Vastert had good contacts in Leiden. In 1448 Jacob van Wassenaar, the Leiden viscount, gave him several properties in Zoeterwoude as a fief.²⁷ In 1454 master Vastert sold some fourteen acres of land behind the Rodenburch estate in Zoeterwoude to Duke Philip of Burgundy, who then enfeoffed master Reinier van Eten with it.²⁸ The relation between master Vastert and this Reinier Claesz van Eten (1414–1486) is of importance here, because the latter was pensionary in 1452, when master Vastert was asked to give the advice concerning the Imperial ban. Reinier enrolled as a student at the University of Cologne in 1429.²⁹ He also studied at Pavia and became a licentiate in both laws.³⁰ In 1447, the year in which Reinier became a citizen of Leiden, he was called “servant of the city”.³¹ Originally he wanted to become a city clerk, but he did not meet the requirement of having been a burgher for seven years. In 1449 he accepted

²⁴ Nationaal Archief (The Hague), Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer, inv. nr. 154, f. 102r.

²⁵ His son Johannes Fastrardi Bareit enrolled at the University of Cologne in 1455, became doctor of civil law (*doctor legum*) in 1464, was a professor there from 1464 to 1517, also a member of the Council or the city chancellery; he died in 1517. See for father and son: De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Conseils juridiques’, 404–405, 409; Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, ‘Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia’, 141.

²⁶ Bohne, ‘Die juristische Fakultät’, 169; De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Conseils juridiques’, 405; Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, ‘Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia’, 141.

²⁷ GAL, Kloosters, inv. nr. 1590.

²⁸ GAL, Kloosters, inv. nr. 1593.

²⁹ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 317, nr. 21.

³⁰ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 218; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 92.

³¹ Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 219.

the position the occupant of which would eventually come to be called pensionary. He occupied this position officially until 1454, but he was also pensionary of Delft from 1452 until 1454.³² He left Leiden definitively in 1454 and continued as a canon of Oudmunster in Utrecht from 1455 until his death in 1486.³³ Even after his departure from Leiden he remained active as a legal expert. For instance, in 1455 he looked after the interests of the cities of Holland in connection with problems with toll collection.³⁴ Reinier van Eten came from a university-educated family which had close ties with the University of Cologne.³⁵

Since the record of the first Cologne *consilium* appears not in an account of the burgomasters, but in one of the *Vroedschapsboeken*, the costs attached to it are not known. In the 1451/52 account of the burgomasters the *consilium* cannot be found, while the account of 1452/53 was not preserved.³⁶ According to a later volume of the *Vroedschapsboeken*, the *consilium* of master Vastert did not lead to a quick resolution of the issue of the Imperial ban. Even in 1457 the cities concerned tried to escape it through the payment of compensation.³⁷

The Louvain consilium, 1460/61

The 1460/61 account of the burgomasters not only mentions a *consilium* requested from the University of Louvain but also the row it caused. The city government consulted master Jan van Gronsvelt with reference to a dispute with Floris van Boschhuijsen. He was sheriff of Leiden from 1442 until 1445. He was dismissed in May 1445 by the Court of Holland after he had unlawfully prised open a sealed

³² Ibid.

³³ Idem, 218; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 92.

³⁴ Kokken, *Steden en staten*, 179; Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 92 note 265.

³⁵ Reinier's brother Bartholomeus enrolled as a student at this institution in 1426. We encounter him later as *magister artium* and professor of medicine at the University of Cologne. From 1442 to 1444 he was a member of the Council of Holland. In 1461 he was dean of the *artes* Faculty in Cologne. Reinier's uncle on the maternal side, Willem van Gouda, was rector of the university there during the period of study of his nephews. See Van den Hoven van Genderen, *Heren*, 218–219. See for Bartholomeus van Eten also: Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 459.

³⁶ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 523 (1451/52).

³⁷ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 524, f. 59v.

suitcase with money in a conflict about an inheritance.³⁸ He did not accept his dismissal and called for the expulsion of his opponents from the city, thereby reigniting the struggle between *Hoeken* and *Kabeljauwen* in Leiden.³⁹ Eventually the *Hoeken*, to which Floris van Boschhuijsen belonged, had to surrender to *Kabeljauw* supremacy. A dispute about the payment for the office of sheriff arose between Floris and his *Kabeljauw* successor Simon Fredericxz. In 1442 Floris had paid his predecessor nearly 2000 *Wilhelmusschilden* for the office of sheriff and he wanted this money back from Simon Vredericxz.⁴⁰

In 1460/61 master Jan wrote an advice regarding the issue of Van Boschhuijsen. He received nine Rhenish guilders for it, an amount he found insufficient.⁴¹ Therefore, he got the conservator of the university to summon the city of Leiden to pay twelve golden lions and two Rhenish guilders on top of the nine already paid, otherwise it would be banned.⁴² An unidentified person nailed a letter of admonition with this tenor to the door of the Church of Saint Peter in Leiden. The conservator, also called conservator of privileges, had as his task the protection of the university against ecclesiastical or secular powers which attacked the authority of law of the rector or infringed upon his privileges. Outsiders who committed an offence against the privileges of the university had to appear in his court.⁴³ Because of lack of time, the city of Leiden was unable to have somebody travel to Louvain within the set time limit. Consequently, the magistracy sent the clerk Dirck van der Geest to Louvain with a notarial letter of appeal. There "friends" advised him to arrange a new reward with master Jan, in the course of which they argued that the original reward was indeed far too low, and that the time limit, within which the required money had to be paid, had already expired. These friends of the council advised the city to pay the money commanded by master Jan and to ask him to have the city be granted absolution from the ban. The Leiden magis-

³⁸ Brand, *Macht*, 88.

³⁹ The *Hoeken* and *Kabeljauwen* were two factions which dominated the political stage in Holland and Zeeland in the period between 1350 and 1500, during which infighting took place and even a civil war. See Van Gent, 'Pettijelicke saken', 1.

⁴⁰ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 51–52.

⁴¹ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 103v.

⁴² *Ibid.*, f. 103v–104r.

⁴³ *Universiteit te Leuven*, 35; Van der Essen, *Universiteit te Leuven*, 11; Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, 186.

tracy consented and paid master Jan twelve golden lions and two Rhenish guilders on top of the nine he had already received. The total costs for the city were thirty pounds, eighteen shilling and eight pence (30*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*).⁴⁴

What do we know about master Jan van Gronsvelt? He enrolled as a student at the University of Heidelberg in 1425; in 1426 he enrolled at Louvain.⁴⁵ He became *magister artium* and professor of civil law (*doctor legum*), as well as an assistant to the conservator of the University of Louvain, and taught there from 1434 until his death in 1473.⁴⁶ His son Gerard followed in his footsteps.⁴⁷ Like Vastert Bareyt, Jan van Gronsvelt frequently gave legal advice. Incidentally Van Gronsvelt and Bareyt must have known each other. They were both involved in the formulation of recommendations to the regular canons of Louvain and the Chapter of Windesheim.⁴⁸ Van Gronsvelt and the son of Vastert Bareyt, Johan, worked together on an advice for the city of Antwerp.⁴⁹

The Louvain *consilium* illustrates that the request of an advice from a lawyer did not always have the effect desired by the city. In this case the *consilium* even led to a new conflict, with the adviser no less. The Leiden magistracy did not benefit from the advice; in the lingering conflict about Van Boschuijsen, which lasted for years, the city was ordered to pay 400 pounds groat to Floris.⁵⁰ It may be assumed that relations between the city of Leiden and Louvain University cooled after the dispute with Van Gronsvelt.

The Paris consilium, 1460/61

In 1460/61 a master Aernt travelled from Leiden to Paris to receive advice from the local doctors at the university. The magistracy also

⁴⁴ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 103v–104r.

⁴⁵ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Conseils juridiques', 411.

⁴⁶ *Universiteit te Leuven*, 116; Reusens, *Documents relatifs*, 26.

⁴⁷ Gerard enrolled at the University of Orléans in 1498 and became *magister artium* and doctor of both laws. He was a member of the Council of Brabant from 1501 to 1505 and he died in 1519. See De Ridder-Symoens, 'Milieu social', 265.

⁴⁸ Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 143; De Ridder-Symoens, 'Conseils juridiques', 409.

⁴⁹ Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 143; De Groot and Coppens, *Manuscripta Canonistica Latina*, 444–445 (nr. 1612).

⁵⁰ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 261 n. 88.

forwarded the messenger Gobel Ysbrantsz with copies of certain letters and privileges. What was the reason for this? We find the answer to this question in the same account of the burgomasters. In the financial year 1460/61 eight religious communities of women in Leiden were taxed for beer excise, with a total cost of 77*l.* 16*s.*⁵¹ They were the convents of Saint Catharine, Saint Barbara, Saint Agnes, Saint Michael, Saint Margaret, Our Lady, Saint Jerome alias Roma and finally the convent of the Holy Ghost. In 1406 exemption of beer excise was granted to ecclesiastical persons in Leiden, including the inhabitants of the communities of women mentioned above. However, in 1446 this decision was reversed.⁵² Henceforth, everybody who practised a trade had to pay excise. According to the magistracy the aforementioned convents, a number of which belonged to the Third Order of Saint Francis, could not be considered ecclesiastical persons in the full sense of the term (even though the religious status of these sisters had been acknowledged by the magistracy in 1427).⁵³ However, in 1446 the sisters insisted that their residences were convents which fell under the ecclesiastical liberty. In this they were supported by the Bishop of Utrecht, who in 1446 had instructed the convents of the Third Order of Saint Francis in Leiden not to pay heed to the regulations of sheriff and aldermen, because they violated the ecclesiastical liberty.⁵⁴ Between 1446 and 1460/61 the sources are silent on this matter until the sisters were actually taxed for excise. They refused to pay, putting forward the same arguments they had used in 1446.⁵⁵

That is how in the 1460s an explosive conflict arose between the Leiden magistracy and a number of women's convents regarding the payment of excise. Excise formed the most important regular source of the city's income: it constituted seventy to ninety per cent of its ordinary income.⁵⁶ At a time when the financial burden of the city was becoming heavier because of subsidies paid to the ducal government and the issue of annuities, income from excise was of crucial importance. The proceeds of excise were assigned to certain liabil-

⁵¹ GAL, Secretarie, inv. nr. 525, f. 97r.

⁵² Hamaker, *Middeneeuwse keurboeken*, 14.

⁵³ Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, 149.

⁵⁴ GAL, Kloosters, inv. nr. 1488.

⁵⁵ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 97v.

⁵⁶ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 114, 267; Bohne, 'Die juristische Fakultät', 113.

ities, such as the payment of annuities.⁵⁷ A successful appeal by the women's convents to their ecclesiastical status would have presented a financial disaster to the city. Finally, the issue was resolved by arbitrators to the advantage of the magistracy, but even then the sisters continued to refuse to pay the required amount. The magistracy did not take this lying down, and decided to have copies made of the privileges on which the sisters based their case. The city government sent for master Aernt Foeytgenz, who was in The Hague, to discuss which course to take.⁵⁸ It may well be the case that during this conversation the decision was taken to request a *consilium* from lawyers of the University of Paris, since shortly afterwards master Aernt travelled there.⁵⁹

The most important question the magistracy had concerning the issue was a matter of canon law: they wanted to know whether the sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis were ecclesiastical persons who could lay claim to the rights, the privileges and the liberty of the Church.⁶⁰ So this seemed to be a conflict between the magistracy and the Third Order convents in Leiden. However, two of the eight communities involved in the conflict cannot just be situated in the Third Order of Saint Francis. Uncertainty still exists as to the convent of the Holy Ghost because it concerns a hitherto unidentified pious community of women. It is nowhere mentioned in the literature about the Leiden convents and monasteries. Perhaps they were Sisters of the Common Life, or, as the account of the burgomasters implies, a Third Order convent. The convent of Saint Jerome alias Roma originally belonged to the Third Order of Saint-Francis, but it had already adopted the Rule of Saint Augustine in 1448. In 1460/61 it was undoubtedly a monastery which enjoyed ecclesiastical liberty.⁶¹

Who was master Aernt? In the accounts of the burgomasters his name appears regularly in the period 1454–1474/5, usually without patronymic and family name. He was often sent away on journeys on behalf of the city; his salary is mentioned with the wages of the

⁵⁷ Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 115.

⁵⁸ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 103r.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., f. 102v.

⁶¹ Van Kan, 'Leiden en de Moderne Devotie', 43; Van Mieris, *Beschrijving*, I 130.

clerks.⁶² We also encounter him in the *Vroedschapsboeken* from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁶³ In the sources master Aernt is once called by his patronymic Foeytgensz (account of the burgo-masters 1460/61) and twice by his family name.⁶⁴ Given the specific context and the fact that only one type of source is concerned, it has to be the same person. Therefore, the master Aernt whom we often encounter in the Leiden sources is Aernt Foeytgensz Mulairt, city pensionary or lawyer from 10 November 1454 until approximately 1474/75. He served the city with legal advice and represented the city to the outside world. He also had administrative tasks, such as the formulation of deeds for the city. He was dismissed on 10 November 1464, because he neglected his writing duties, which somebody else then had to perform for the city. The stadtholder, however, had him reappointed.⁶⁵

Aernt Mulairt originated from the province of Overijssel.⁶⁶ No doubt he was the “Arnoldus Moelart de Hasselt” who enrolled at the University of Louvain in 1444.⁶⁷ The administrative career of master Aernt developed as follows: he was a member of the Council of Guelders in 1474; between 1484 and 1496 he was a member of the Council of the Bishop of Utrecht; we encounter him among the Knighthood of Overijssel in 1485 and in 1480, and 1486 he was ambassador of the city of Kampen for France. He died before 27 August 1499, for on that date his estate was divided. The sources nearly always refer to him as *doctor utriusque iuris* and sometimes as doctor.

We do not know who in Paris formulated the advice to the Leiden magistracy. It seems that not an individual but a group of lawyers was consulted in Paris, in which case we are talking about a *Fakultätsgutachten*. The Leiden sources do not mention the names of the advisers; they do, however, mention that “doctors and clerks”

⁶² GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 527, f. 115r.

⁶³ For instance in 1465: GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 382.

⁶⁴ See respectively GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 102v–103r. and inv. nr. 547, f. 59r. and 108v.

⁶⁵ Marsilje, *Financiële Beleid*, 105–106; Brand, *Macht*, 144; Kokken, *Steden en staten*, 179.

⁶⁶ He had three brothers: Hessel (sheriff of Hasselt 1456–1466), Albert (alderman of Hasselt 1490, burgher of Paris in 1495) and Ernst (alderman of Hasselt 1486–1506). See Smit, ‘Aernt Mulairt’, 171–172.

⁶⁷ Smit provides the year 1441 with reference to Reusens, *Documents relatifs*, 15, but there we find 1444 as the year of enrolment.

were consulted.⁶⁸ The written result of the *consilium* could have offered a way out here had it been preserved. It also remains unclear why master Aernt was specifically sent to Paris for this matter. People from the Northern Netherlands usually turned to the University of Cologne for legal advice. It may be assumed that they did not go to Louvain on account of the conflict with master Jan van Gronsvelt mentioned earlier. Moreover, Paris had quite a reputation in the field of canon law. Legal advice from these quarters did not only fulfil the legal needs of the magistracy, perhaps it also increased the status of the city. Furthermore, good contacts existed between Leiden and Paris. After Cologne and Louvain, the University of Paris was the most popular one for people from Leiden. Several members of the magistracy or their family had studied there.⁶⁹ A son of the Leiden magistrate Willem Filipsz, Jacobus Hoeck, became *magister artium* at Paris around this time and in 1466 even managed to become rector of the university.⁷⁰

The Paris *consilium* cost the city 13*l.* 15*s.* 20*d.* in total.⁷¹ Firstly, consultation with master Aernt cost 3*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* Copying the required letters and privileges amounted to 11*s.* 4*d.* The journey to Paris cost 9*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, including a reward of four golden crowns for the advisers. Comparatively 13*l.* is a small amount, for the loss of excise was far greater, certainly in the long term. In 1460/61 the convents refused to pay beer excise for an amount of well over 77*l.* An official such as Aernt Mulairt earned a yearly salary of 130*l.*⁷² In comparison to the total expenses of the magistracy the cost of this *consilium* could be said to be low: in 1460/61 they amounted to 18.605*l.* and 5*d.*⁷³

The second Cologne consilium, 1461/62

In 1460/61 the Leiden magistracy sent a member of the *Vroedschap*, master Jacob van Bosch, to Cologne to ask master Vastert Bareyt's

⁶⁸ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 103r.

⁶⁹ Brand, *Macht*, 268, n. 96.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 269; Van Rhijn, *Studiën*, 116.

⁷¹ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 102v–103r.

⁷² Marsilje, *Financiële beleid*, 105.

⁷³ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 525, f. 126v.

advice on three subjects (master Aernt stayed in The Hague to take care of other business). Firstly, the excise conflict between the Third Order convents and the city had not been solved. Secondly, the Leiden magistracy wanted master Vastert to tell them whether wax candles could be sold in the city churches. Thirdly, it was unclear whether the Leiden magistracy was allowed to issue statutes on inheritances.⁷⁴ This had to do specifically with the right of inheritance of ecclesiastical persons and not with inheritances in general. Around the middle of the fifteenth century, the cities in the Northern Netherlands tried to restrict the right of inheritance of religious persons.⁷⁵ Goods inherited by them could no longer be inherited by others after the death of the former; they became property in mortmain. Such goods fell within the ecclesiastical liberty and could, therefore, not be taxed.⁷⁶ In the fifteenth century the number of religious communities and, therefore, of ecclesiastical possessions increased enormously in the Northern Netherlands.⁷⁷ This development led to complaints by the population. Secular authorities reacted by taking measures to restrict the growth of ecclesiastical possessions.⁷⁸ City regulations in the field of clerical inheritance law fitted into this framework. In 1446 the Leiden magistracy prohibited the establishment of new monasteries and convents, and determined a maximum number of religious persons.⁷⁹

Following a stay of thirty-six days in Cologne, master Jacob returned to Leiden with master Vastert's written *Privatgutachten*. The burgo-masters' account mentions that his advice "was of great and remarkable importance".⁸⁰ This appeared, indeed, to be so because the Leiden magistracy then sent master Adolf van der Marck to Rome to transcribe certain documents referring to the Third Order of Saint Francis at the advice of master Vastert. This nobleman enrolled as a student at the University of Cologne in 1423 and became doctor of Roman law. He was procurator of the States of Holland and Zeeland between 1447 and 1448, councillor to Duke

⁷⁴ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 527, f. 57r.

⁷⁵ Telders, *Bijdrage tot een geschiedenis*, 111.

⁷⁶ Nolet and Boeren, *Kerkelijke instellingen*, 97; Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, 14.

⁷⁷ Telders, *Bijdrage tot een geschiedenis*, 105.

⁷⁸ Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, 15.

⁷⁹ De Man, 'Maatregelen', 282-283.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

Arnold of Guelders from 1449 until 1450, and in 1459 he was councillor to the Bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy. He was a member of the Council of Holland from 1459 until 1463, and president of the Court of Guelders from 1473 until 1474. Between 1457 and 1465 he made several diplomatic journeys to the German Empire on behalf of Duke Philip the Good.⁸¹

The second Cologne *consilium* cost the city 34*l.* including the salary of master Vastert of ten Rhenish guilders. Like the Paris *consilium* it was a small expense for the city; total expenses of the Leiden magistracy amounted to 26.045*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* in the financial year 1461/62.⁸²

The advice requested at Cologne evokes another question: why did the Leiden magistracy within a short time turn to two universities for advice about issues which were partly similar? We know from other sources that it was not unusual for two universities to work closely together in the field of *consilia*. According to Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, a close relationship existed between the universities of Louvain and Cologne.⁸³ However, in this case we are talking about two different *consilia* instead of cooperation. Perhaps the Paris *consilium* was unsatisfactory to the Leiden magistracy, in the sense that the city's point of view was not reinforced by the lawyers. Because it was a non-binding advice, the magistracy had every right to request a second advice elsewhere. Judging from the delighted reaction of the Leiden magistracy to the advice of master Vastert, it seems that he did agree with Leiden's point of view. Incidentally, this implies that the question of the ecclesiastical status of the members of the Third Order did not have to be answered univocally by lawyers. Probably another factor played a role: acquiring legal recommendations from separate universities could function as a means to increase the status and prestige of the city and could perhaps also convince the other party in the conflict that the magistracy was right.

However, the advice by master Vastert did not solve the Leiden excise conflict. We do not know exactly what happened after Van der Marck's journey to Rome. The accounts of the burgomasters from the period 1462/63 until 1476/77 do not mention anything about this issue. The dispute between the city council and the Third

⁸¹ Damen, *Staat van dienst*, 473–474; *Memorialen*, ed. De Blécourt and Meijers, III, xli.

⁸² GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 527, f. 162v.

⁸³ Van den Auweele and Oosterbosch, 'Consilia iuridica Lovaniensia', 137.

Order convents about the payment of excise lasted well into the sixteenth century. Thus, innumerable Leiden monasteries and convents refused to pay the capitation which was imposed in 1477.⁸⁴ The same happened with the grain excise in 1484.⁸⁵ In later years there were conflicts between the city and the Leiden monasteries and convents about the payment of beer excise and mill money.⁸⁶ In 1464 one of the Third Order convents, Saint Margaret, even moved to a location outside the urban jurisdiction in order to escape the excise conflict.⁸⁷

The Leiden excise issue is a beautiful illustration of a development which presented a city with concrete legal problems. In this case a religious renaissance at the beginning of the fifteenth century led to the establishment of a number of new religious communities, especially of women. Between 1398 and 1450 twelve convents were established in Leiden.⁸⁸ The presence of these communities had important consequences for the urban economy and the distribution of urban space. The sisters occupied themselves with trade and industry, and acquired possessions which were not taxed initially. In the long term this presented the city with an untenable situation. It felt obliged to reverse a situation that was favourable to the convents, in this case immunity from excise. In other cities in Holland a comparable development was noticeable. Conflicts between magistracies and religious communities about the payment of excise, activities in the field of industry and restrictions concerning property seem to have been widespread in the Northern Netherlands and perhaps also the Southern Netherlands in this period.⁸⁹ The conflicts which arose because of this new situation could no longer be solved by customary law; the Leiden excise conflict could not even be solved by arbitration. Because of this the need for legal advice arose.

⁸⁴ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 382, f. 84r. and GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 564, f. 20r.

⁸⁵ GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 382, f. 159v.

⁸⁶ See among others GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 382, f. 456v. and GAL, Secretarie I, inv. nr. 382, f. 568v.

⁸⁷ For this relocation Van Luijk, 'Tweede religieuze vrouwenbeweging', 50–67.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 50–51.

⁸⁹ We know of conflicts in the Northern Netherlands from Haarlem, The Hague, Utrecht and Zwolle. See Jongkees, *Staat en kerk*, 146, 155 and De Man, 'Maatregelen', 279, 282.

Conclusion

The *consilia* which we encounter in the Leiden city sources in the middle of the fifteenth century refer to concrete cases in the field of the application of learned law (both canon and civil law) which were the subject of conflicts. In a short period of time four requests for *consilia* were made to the universities of Cologne, Paris and Louvain. The magistracy sent one of its city officials, preferably the pensionary, with written questions to one or more lawyers at a university. He stayed in the university town until he could return home, taking the written advice with him. The cost of the *consilia* constituted a small sum in the total expenses of the magistracy. The advice did not always lead to a quick resolution of conflicts. The Louvain *consilium* showed that a legal advice could lead to a new conflict.

The *consilia* at the centre of this contribution provide an insight into an important historical development taking place in the fifteenth century. They show how the government of a city came to be increasingly constructed along legal paths. Urban society was becoming increasingly complex, and presented the magistracy with concrete legal problems. To deal with these problems the city appointed a university-educated lawyer as its pensionary whose knowledge was used to acquire an advice from a prestigious university. In this respect *consilia* also served to increase the status of a city.

OVERQUALIFIED FOR THEIR JOBS? RURAL DEANS IN THE DIOCESE OF LIÈGE (FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES)

Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld

An important merit of the proposographical method, as applied in the five dissertations supervised by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens since 1993, is that it gives us insight into the functioning of officials in the 'middle management' of ecclesiastical and secular organizations. The official structures functioned thanks to people of lower rank who effected the decisions and procedures determined at the top of those structures. My doctoral research on the parish priests in the north of the diocese of Liège in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries showed that in legal and administrative matters the ecclesiastical level of dean occupied a key position between the rank and file of the parish priests and the top of the diocesan clerical hierarchy which consisted of the bishop, his staff (especially the vicar-general and the official) and the eight archdeacons.¹

This contribution will focus on rural deans in the northernmost part of the old diocese of Liège, that is the deans of the three deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel within the archdeaconry of Kempenland between 1400 and 1570. Their territory corresponded roughly to the present-day Dutch province of North Brabant, which borders on Belgium to the south. Throughout the period under scrutiny the major part of this region belonged to the duchy of Brabant, which became part of the Burgundian Netherlands in 1430. Between 1559 and 1561 the Low Countries saw the establishment of three archiepiscopal sees and eighteen suffragan dioceses, which led to the dismemberment of the immense diocese of Liège. Henceforth, most parishes in the old deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel came under the mostly newly created dioceses of Antwerp, Bois-le-

¹ I have explained the ecclesiastical organization of the diocese of Liège in Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, chapter 2, summarized in Bijsterveld, 'Organisatie en instellingen'. See also: Bijsterveld, 'Du cliché'; Bijsterveld, 'Reform'.

Duc, Roermond and Liège. After a brief elaboration on the origin and development of the office of dean and his tasks, a picture will be sketched of their geographical origin, social background, education, recruitment, additional functions, personnel and substitutes, as well as their networks, based on the biographies of the thirty-one deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel in the period 1400–1570. An in-depth analysis of these data shows that there appear to have been significant differences between the three deaneries, which are probably related to the divergent importance attached to the position and the different ways in which these deans were elected and/or recruited. The central question concerns the relation between their university curricula and their functions in the Church and in society. Was their education a prerequisite for the correct execution of their tasks as deans and if so, who or what had decided that an academic education was desirable or even necessary in this respect?

Origins of the deanery

After 1066 the diocese of Liège consisted of seven—and from 1232 eight—territorial archdeaconries. Every archdeaconry was divided into several rural deaneries; the diocese of Liège numbered twenty-eight deaneries in all at the beginning of the sixteenth century.² In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the archdeaconry of Kempenland (formerly called ‘Texandria’) consisted of seven deaneries: apart from the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, these were the deaneries of Maaseik, Beringen, Susteren and Wassenberg. Since the first rural dean of the diocese is mentioned in the first decades of the tenth century, it is assumed that the deaneries of Liège were formed gradually from the late Carolingian period onwards.³ The most northerly deaneries of the diocese, in the archdeaconry of Texandria, were probably only established in the second half of the eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century by the (re)grouping of about twenty parishes around a certain central place.⁴ This prob-

² Ceyssens, ‘Les doyens’, 165.

³ Deblon, ‘Les origines’, 703, 705, 709 n. 28.

⁴ Bijsterveld, ‘De la Texandrie’. In the nearby archbishopric of Cologne, of which the diocese of Liège was a suffragan diocese, the division into deaneries was estab-

ably happened in the context of the fundamental change in the division of the diocese into archdeaconries, which took place in the third quarter of the eleventh century.⁵ The archdeacon, formerly a general substitute of the bishop, then became an independent official with his own tasks within a circumscribed area. In the late Middle Ages these tasks consisted of proposing and admitting the candidates for ecclesiastical benefices, nominated by the patrons of the respective parish churches; of the visitation of the parish; and the right to correct clergymen and laymen, mainly in the parish synod which he convened and chaired.⁶

In the sources from Liège the deanery is sometimes referred to as *decanatus (ruralis)*, more often as *concilium* and sometimes as *christianitas*. A deanery was named after its principal town, which was partly chosen because it had to have a relatively spacious church, which could serve as the fixed meeting place for the priests. According to Deblon, a collegiate church was often chosen because it offered enough space for the regional *concilium* of the priests, as it was designed to accommodate the choir service by the canons.⁷

Compared with the rest of the diocese of Liège, North Brabant was a region with very vast parishes. Although the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel covered about a quarter of the entire diocese of Liège until 1559–1561, when it was dismembered, they did not number anywhere near a quarter of all the parishes: De Moreau counted 1675 parishes in all in the diocese of Liège before 1559 so that the portion of the three deaneries—with approximately two hundred parishes in 1559—only amounted to twelve per cent.⁸ Therefore, the average parish in these three deaneries was vast, and the incumbents benefited from the high income from the

lished in the eleventh century too, particularly under the Archbishop Anno II (1056–1075) (Janssen, 'Spätmittelalterliche Kirchenverwaltung', 119).

⁵ Deblon, 'Les origines', 710–711.

⁶ Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, 36–40; Deblon, 'Les origines', 707–708 n. 23. In the preserved income registers of the archdeacon of Kempenland from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we find hundreds of written traces of the proclamations and institutions of new beneficiaries in benefices with and without pastoral care granted by the archdeacon (Juten, *Consilium, passim*; Bannenberg, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten, passim*).

⁷ Deblon, 'Les origines', 708–709. See for this and the following also Bijsterveld, 'De oorsprong': in Wassenberg the secular chapter was only established in 1118. Possibly the deanery of Wassenberg was only then established.

⁸ De Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église*, III, 325.

levy of tithes in these better-endowed and more attractive parishes.⁹ Both in area and in the number of parishes (ninety-six) the deanery of Hilvarenbeek was by far the largest in the diocese of Liège in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No doubt this was a result of the still relatively small number of parishes in the west of Brabant in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that is at the time of the establishment of the deanery, and of the great number of parishes founded on newly cultivated and diked land from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries.¹⁰

Job description

At the head of the deanery we find the dean (*decanus concilii*,—*ruralis* or—*christianitatis*). He was always an incumbent in the deanery concerned, and was elected for life to this position by his fellow incumbents and the *vicarii perpetui*, that is by all who held a benefice with pastoral care in the deanery.¹¹ A description exists from the fifteenth century of one of three possible procedures for election, namely *per viam Spiritus Sancti*, that is by acclamation.¹² A second procedure, *per viam scrutini* or by vote, was recorded in a copy of the notarial deed concerning the election of dean Gerardus Clingel on 30 September 1528 as rural dean of Cuijk, which was included in a formulary for the notary of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek.¹³ This election took place in Saint George's chapel in the collegiate church of Saint John in Bois-le-Duc, which was the most important church in this part of the diocese because of its impressive, cathedral-like size and its location in the largest city of North Brabant—at the same time one

⁹ Arts, 'De grootte'.

¹⁰ See the maps with the development of the parish structure in West Brabant between c.1075 and 1350 in Leenders, *Van Turnhoutervoorde*, 315–318, and Van Ham, *Macht en gezag*, 386–393; Van Ham, 'Macht en geloof'.

¹¹ Ceyskens, 'Les doyens', 166, 170–176; Laenen, *Notes*, 39–54, esp. 46–47; Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 29; De Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église*, III, 338–340; Toussaint, 'Election'; Bannenbergh, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten*, II, xvii–xviii.

¹² Bannenbergh, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten*, I, xvii–xviii.

¹³ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix I 32, 139, 309 especially 536–537 (hereafter I will refer particularly to Appendixes I and II, which are supplied on CD ROM. For Appendix I, I refer to the page numbers of the printed version distributed in a limited edition). The third procedure was that of *per viam compromissi*, by means of arbitration (Bannenbergh, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten*, II, xvii).

of the four capitals of the duchy. The fifteenth and sixteenth-century deans of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel were never parish priests of the church of the principal location of the deanery (with a sole exception), although the decanal meeting of priests usually took place here.

The dean functioned as an intermediary between the bishop and the archdeacon, on the one hand, and his fellow parish priests in the deanery, on the other hand, and as local representative of the episcopal authority.¹⁴ In the *quarte capelle*, the churches of the lowest fiscal range, he had the rights which the archdeacon had in the 'full' and 'half' churches, that is the right of the institution of the parish priests and beneficiaries and the right of visitation. Moreover, the actual appointment or installation of the priests—following the obligatory proclamations—was executed in all churches under the direction of (or on behalf of) the dean. He also collected the tax of all churches on behalf of the episcopal treasury.¹⁵ Furthermore, the rural dean had other financial and fiscal tasks. In 1523–1524 dean Nicolaus Hoyberchs of Cuijk paid the contribution to the subsidy or *bede* authorized by the clergy of the diocese of Liège in the duchy of Brabant at the occasion of the Joyous Entry of Emperor Charles V.¹⁶ The dean had to approve the establishment of new benefices¹⁷ and guarded the foundation of masses resulting from the execution of wills or as a consequence of an arbitral judgement.¹⁸ The dean also took part in legal procedures regarding conflicts about ecclesiastical possessions such as tithes.¹⁹ He was closely involved in the

¹⁴ Deblon, 'Les origines', 704, 707.

¹⁵ Ceyskens, 'Les doyens', 166–168, 178, 181–190, 210; Laenen, *Notes*, 47–50; Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 73; Nolet and Boeren, *Kerkelijke instellingen*, 304–306; Bannenbergh, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten*, II xxiv; Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, 53–54; Deblon, 'Les origines', 707–708 n. 23.

¹⁶ Van Dijck, *De Bossche optimaten*, 234, n. 130.

¹⁷ An example is the approval granted by dean Walterus Back van Hilvarenbeek on 23 June 1390 to the foundation of an altar and a chantry in the church of Diessen (Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix II regest nr. 160.3 dated 9 June 1390). Other examples: *ibid.*, Appendix II regest nr. 114.1 dated 6 May 1422 (and the deed of approval by the dean dated 30 June 1422); 289.2 dated 31 July 1432 (and the deed of the dean dated 31 Aug. 1432); nr. 108.1 dated 3 May 1444 (and the deed of the dean dated 7 May 1444).

¹⁸ Examples: Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix II regest nr. 31.15 dated 22 July 1517; 5.7 dated 23 Aug. 1449 (deed of approval by the dean dated 21 Oct. 1449).

¹⁹ Dean Nicolaus Hoyberchs questioned the witnesses with regard to a conflict

organization of the parochial synod and the trial of the offences revealed there.²⁰ Last but not least the dean convened what was termed the *concilium* or *capitulum* and chaired it.²¹ This was the meeting of all parish priests of the deanery, which in the archdeaconry of Kempenland (and, thus, also in the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel) was held twice a year, just after Easter and at the end of September or the beginning of October.²² In practice these *concilia* or *capitula* also functioned as judiciary meetings at which more incriminating facts against the priests were collected, apart from the offences possibly already revealed at the parochial synod, and at which the priests were called to book and judged.²³ In the regulations from 1477–1478 from the archdeacon of Brabant in the diocese of Liège for the organization of four yearly decanal *concilia* in his area, the participants were, indeed, asked to report persons who were guilty of certain offences. They involved absent priests, those who enjoyed a benefice without licence and those who “openly kept a concubine [or], had a suspect woman living in their house or whom they met in their parish”.²⁴

When it came to the practice of judicial procedures, a close co-operation existed between the *foraneus* or judicial officer of the archdeacon and the dean of the deanery. Together they chaired the parochial synod. The archdeacon also strongly supervised the decanal *concilia* or *capitula*.²⁵ This is evident from the fact that parish clerics had to pay the fine imposed on them by the archdeacon—resulting from the settlement of their offences revealed during the parochial synod—during these decanal meetings. The lists of fines in the income registers of the archdeacon frequently mention as term days for fines

between the incumbents of the churches of Dinther and Heeswijk concerning the tithes (Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix II regest nr. 120.3 dated 5 Dec. 1516).

²⁰ See especially Ceyskens, ‘Les doyens’, 195–201; Laenen, *Notes*, 52–53.

²¹ Ceyskens, ‘Les doyens’, 178, 191–195; Laenen, *Notes*, 44–47; Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 20; Nolet and Boeren, *Kerkelijke instellingen*, 300–301.

²² In Hilvarenbeek the autumn meeting was organized usually on 23 September, in Woensel on 25 September and in Cuijk on 28 September. The spring meeting was held in Hilvarenbeek on the Thursday following the second Sunday after Easter (Frenken, ‘Nog een oude kalender’, 5). See Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, 45 and n. 99.

²³ Ceyskens, ‘Les doyens’, 194; Laenen, *Notes*, 46; Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 32.

²⁴ Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 33–45.

²⁵ The parish priests could only elect a new dean when the archdeacon or his representative had assembled them and chaired the meeting (Ceyskens, ‘Les doyens’, 171; see also Paquay, *Jurisdiction*, 30–32).

the *capitulum post Pasche* (the decanal meeting after Easter) and the *capitulum Remigii* (the decanal meeting at Saint Remigius) (1 October).

In some deaneries in the diocese of Liège, the decisions of these chapters of the deanery were recorded from the fourteenth century onwards. These were termed *records ecclésiastiques* and often constituted the basis of decanal statutes, as they were written down for some deaneries, including the so-called 'golden' deaneries of Susteren and Wassenberg in the fourteenth century.²⁶ As far as the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel are concerned, no decisions of decanal meetings or decanal statutes have been preserved from the period 1400–1570.²⁷ In the late Middle Ages and in the early sixteenth century several deaneries also developed formularies, like the deaneries of Beringen (in 1516) and Hilvarenbeek.²⁸ Van den Bichelaer came across a quire with a formulary for the notary of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek, based on exemplary deeds from 1493 and 1528 among others and a deed from approximately 1450.²⁹

The deans

The deaneries did not develop their own archives and, therefore, the biographical data of the deans and their work can only be retrieved from other sources. Complete lists of the deans of the diocese of Liège, including the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, do not exist.³⁰ From the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

²⁶ Brouette, 'Records conciliaires'; Wagon, 'Les 'records ecclésiastiques''; Deblon, 'Les pouvoirs archidiaconaux', 393. For Susteren and Wassenberg: Daris, 'La partie liégeoise'; Munsters, 'De statuten'.

²⁷ In a deed dated 24 May 1424 the archdeacon of Kempenland did confirm the resolution concerning the reparation of the church of Overpelt, a decision which was taken at the meeting of the *Concilium Woencelense* held in the parish church of Eindhoven (reproduced in Frenken, 'Procedure', 148–150). Already in 1261 a settlement reached at a decanal synod held in Hilvarenbeek in that year was recorded in a deed (Goetschalckx, *Oorkondenboek*, 181, nr. 155 dated 26 Oct. 1261).

²⁸ Ceyssens, 'Les doyens', 159–160.

²⁹ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix I, 517, n. 896, 537 and n. 928. The quire is included in *Archief Abdij van Tongerlo in Westerlo*, II, register 125.

³⁰ For Hilvarenbeek see Juten, 'Dekenaar'. The lists made by Brouette ('Les doyens . . . des origines'; 'Les doyens . . . au XIV^e siècle'; 'Liste provisoire') are quite incomplete (see for an evaluation also Dierkens, 'La création', 354 n. 51). Peter Scholtz, mentioned by Schutjes, *Geschiedenis*, III, 9 and V, 701 as dean of Cuijk in 1447 and 'priest of Teeffelen' (nr. 2705*), does not fit the series at all.

from 1400 to 1570 to be exact, we know the names of thirty-one possible rural deans (table 1). Of two persons, solely mentioned as deans of Hilvarenbeek in an article by Brouette, it remains uncertain whether they actually functioned as such.³¹ Since the deans were also incumbents in their deaneries, all the recovered deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel belonged to the population of parish priests investigated in my dissertation of 1993. In the deanery of Woensel we encounter three vice-deans who replaced a non-residing dean.³² The biographies of these deans and vice-deans, composed in 1993 on the basis of data available then, can now be extended and corrected, particularly thanks to the numerous data collected by Alphons van den Bichelaer in his dissertation on the notaries in the quarter or 'Meierij' of Bois-le Duc, which covered approximately three-quarters of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel.³³

Geographical origins and social backgrounds

More than two-thirds of the deans were born in the deanery of which they became deans (see table 2). Three were born outside their future deanery, but inside one of the other two deaneries. Only seven deans came from deaneries outside North Brabant; four of the deans of Woensel had more southern roots. The place of birth of four deans is unknown. This suggests that the assembled parish priests of the deaneries preferred an indigenous dean, in spite of the apparent and increasing prestige of the decanal position, which made this position more attractive to foreign careerists. One requirement must have been that he spoke and understood their language. Apparently this applied to all known deans, including the dean of Hilvarenbeek Walterus van Corswarem, a nobleman who was probably born near the language boundary between the Dutch-speaking and the French-speaking parts of the Low Countries: his father was Lord of Niel near Saint-Trond and his mother was Catherina de Argenteau.

³¹ It concerns Johannes Huyet (nr. 1956*) and Johannes Groote (nr. 1957*), mentioned as deans of Hilvarenbeek by Brouette, 'Liste provisoire', 10–11 for 1474 and 1486 respectively. For both no other mention as dean or parish priest in the deanery has been found.

³² See Ceyskens, 'Les doyens', 180.

³³ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*.

We know the parents or the family background of eighteen deans and, thus, we can say something about their social origins (see table 3). Three deans were sons of noblemen: Walterus van Corswarem mentioned earlier and Johannes de Glimes, illegitimate son of the Lord of Bergen op Zoom, were both deans of Hilvarenbeek, and the dean of Woensel, Godefridus Dichier, was perhaps a son of the Lord of Mierlo. Four deans had fathers who can be regarded as 'high-ranking officials'; a sheriff (*drossaard*) of the land of Breda (Johannes van Nispen),³⁴ a sheriff (*kwartierschout*) of the quarter of Oisterwijk (Servatius Schilders),³⁵ a steward (*rentmeester*) of the small town of Grave and the land of Cuijk (Simon Kreeft) and a hereditary steward (*erfmeier*) of Bree (Renerus Borman). Six deans came from a well-to-do urban background, evident from a father or family members who were aldermen in the cities of Breda and Bois-le-Duc, or who practised a more distinguished craft such as miller (Johannes Rusener). Jaspardus Hebscaep was a descendant of the distinguished family from Turnhout of the same name. The well-to-do rural environment of large landowners produced five deans, including two deans from Hilvarenbeek from the prominent family Back and Nicolaus Hoyberchs, dean of Cuijk, who was ordained as priest in 1485 "on the title of his patrimony" (*titulo sui patrimonii*). That is, he did not have to wait for a benefice which would provide him with the income necessary for his ordination, like most of his colleagues.³⁶ These data present an image of deans as people who all came from well-to-do backgrounds, from the middle and higher social ranks. This raises the question whether this relatively high social profile meant easy access to higher education, as may be expected.

Studies

We do, indeed, have information on the university education of twenty out of the thirty-one rural deans (table 4).³⁷ In the deanery of Woensel more than half, and in both the other deaneries more than two-thirds of the known deans were university-educated, which

³⁴ De Moor, 'Het gezin', 64–66.

³⁵ Aarts, 'Jan Schilders'.

³⁶ Bannenbergh, Frenken and Hens, *De oude dekenaten*, II, 19.

³⁷ The two possible deans of Hilvarenbeek will be included in this analysis.

is a high score when compared to the average level of education of the parish priests. It is remarkable that of the seven rural deans who were in office before approximately 1450, only one had attended university, namely Godefridus Dichbier, dean of Woensel in 1449–1450. On the other hand, of the twenty-four deans in office after 1450 only one dean of Cuijk and only three deans of Woensel had *not* been to university.³⁸ Of the three vice-deans of Woensel one had gone to university. Although after 1450 a university education apparently was not a prerequisite, it obviously became an important recommendation for a future dean.

There are important differences between the deans of the three deaneries in terms of education, degrees and number of universities visited. Of the nine university-educated deans of Hilvarenbeek, only two restricted themselves to a preliminary study in the *artes*, while as many as five studied not only the liberal arts, but also both civil and canon law (table 4). A more diverse picture is presented by the deans of Cuijk and Woensel. While there was, indeed, a preference for the study of law, no dean of Cuijk and only one of Woensel studied both laws. In all of the deaneries there was but one theology student among the deans. An exceptional case was the vice-dean of Woensel, a Premonstratensian of the abbey of Tongerlo, who studied both canon law and theology, and graduated at the latter faculty.

We see the same pattern in the university degrees taken by the deans (table 5). Six out of nine university-educated deans of Hilvarenbeek took a degree at a higher faculty, five of whom in both laws and one in theology. If we omit the two possible deans of Hilvarenbeek, six of the seven university-educated deans took a higher degree. Between approximately 1470 and 1532—with the exception of the two possible deans—as many as four graduates in both laws succeeded each other as dean, two of whom possessed the degree of *utriusque iuris doctor*.³⁹ Of the five university-educated deans in the deanery of Cuijk just two graduated, only one of whom at a higher faculty, namely theology. The deans of Woensel presented a somewhat more positive picture, one possessing a doctoral degree in canon law and two deans graduating in law.

³⁸ Of two of these three deans of Woensel, Winandus van Winghene and Petrus Marcellii Vereept, hardly any information is known anyway.

³⁹ *Doctores*: nrs. 1604 and 296; *licentiati*: nrs. 614 (also *decretorum doctor*) and 1800*.

The now familiar picture (the most extensive studies among the deans of Hilvarenbeek and the lowest academic prestige among the deans of Cuijk) is confirmed by an analysis of the universities visited by the deans (table 6). Of the nine university-educated deans of Hilvarenbeek, four visited only the University of Louvain, one went just to Cologne, and one visited both Cologne and Louvain. Two deans made a *peregrinatio academica* to the Universities of Cologne, Paris and Bologna, and to Cologne, Louvain and Bologna respectively. This means that these men—Wilhelmus van Alphen and Johannes van Nispen—counted among the intellectual *crème de la crème*.⁴⁰ Among the deans of Woensel two studied at Louvain, one was probably at Cologne and one visited both *studia*. The Universities of Louvain and Bologna were attended by one dean, namely Renerus Borman. Among the deans of Cuijk, four studied at Louvain and one at Cologne. Two deans, Wilhelmus Pottey of Woensel and Johannes Huberti van Lommel of Hilvarenbeek, were professors of law at Louvain.⁴¹

From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, a clear tendency develops to elect and appoint highly educated clergymen, preferably jurists, as deans of the three deaneries. This partly reflected the increased general level of education among the clergy in this period. On the other hand, the preference for a study of law, whether or not completed, makes it also likely that such a study was an important advantage to the dean's mainly legal, financial and administrative tasks. Did such a study also constitute a prerequisite for the correct execution of their decanal tasks? It is not easy to answer this question. From what we know about their work we may deduce that while this required some knowledge of civil and canon law, the necessary knowledge did not need to rise far above what could be expected from the average notary in the Meierij of Bois-le-Duc, as studied by Van den Bichelaer. For many deans had themselves replaced by notaries or were themselves notaries, as we shall see later. Of the 410 notaries working in the Meierij until 1531, approximately one fifth (1426–1500) and one third (1500–1531) were uni-

⁴⁰ See for Van Alphen Gooskens, 'Meester Willem Alfijn'.

⁴¹ About the latter: De Maesschalck, 'Beurzenstichtingen'; Indekeu, 'Johannes Huybrechts (Van Loemel)'; Indekeu, 'Een landdeken'; Van den Bichelaer, 'Van kapelaan', 16–20.

versity-educated. In the city of Bois-le-Duc the level of education was considerably higher: of the notaries working there more than one-third and more than half had visited a university in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries respectively. However, of the seventy-seven notaries with an academic degree in the Meierij only seven had a degree from a higher faculty. The latter all worked in Bois-le-Duc. For a notary, apparently, a study in the *artes*, whether or not completed, was sufficient preparation for the exam preceding an appointment as notary.⁴² What was good enough for a notary must also have been sufficient for a rural dean in principle. The decanal task probably did not require the long years of study necessary for the acquisition of a higher degree in law and theology, let alone the doctorate in law possessed by one dean of Woensel and three deans of Hilvarenbeek. Therefore, strictly speaking the deans (and one vice-dean) who did acquire those degrees were overqualified for their jobs.

In order to answer the question who or what decided that a university education was nevertheless desirable or even necessary for a dean, we ought to answer the question how and by whom they were recruited. Finally the issue may be broached to what extent the deans actually used their expertise for carrying out their decanal tasks.

Recruitment

In the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century the deans of Hilvarenbeek nearly all fell under the patronage of the Lord of Breda.⁴³ The Counts of Nassau, lords of the Lordship of Breda since 1403, counted among the highest noblemen in the Burgundian and Habsburg Low Countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Six of the thirteen deans can be associated with the Lord of Breda in one way or another, especially because they had him to thank for their pastoral and other benefices.⁴⁴ When we exclude the two possible deans, the Lord of Breda even seems to have been influential behind the scenes in the election of all the

⁴² Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, 78–80.

⁴³ See Bijsterveld, 'Les jeux d'influence'.

⁴⁴ Nrs 293*, 1955*, 610, 296, 614, 339.

deans between approximately 1423 and 1539, with the exception of two. Among them are three incumbents of Breda, one dean of the Chapter of Our Lady in Breda and two parish priests of Groot-Zundert, of which parish the Lord of Breda owned the advowson since 1464. Moreover, one of them, Johannes van Nispen, was the son of Adam van Nispen, sheriff of Breda and an important official of the Lord of Breda.⁴⁵ A seventh dean, Johannes Huberti van Lommel, participated in an influential political and ecclesiastical network and was, among other things, councillor of the Council of Brabant from 1506 onwards, on which the Lord of Breda also served. Van Lommel can, thus, very well have come to the attention of the Lord of Breda. The Lord of Bergen-op-Zoom, the other important Lord with sovereign aspirations in the north-west of the duchy, seems to have influenced the choice of the rural dean in one case only, namely the rural dean Johannes de Glimes, incumbent of Steenberg and natural son of Jan I van Glimes, Lord of Bergen-op-Zoom (†1427). However, the advowson of the pastoral benefice of Steenberg was jointly held by the Lords of Bergen-op-Zoom and of Breda, so that the Lord of Breda can also have exerted his influence in this case.⁴⁶ Although the Lord of Breda formally had no influence on the election of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek by the assembled parish priests of the deanery, indirect influence seems undeniable. Therefore, he may probably be regarded as partly responsible for the increasing prestige of the deans of the deanery of Hilvarenbeek after approximately 1450, as is apparent from their education and additional functions (see below).

In the deanery of Cuijk, the deans in the sixteenth century likewise maintained relations with the Lords of Cuijk and Grave from the powerful House of Egmond, Floris (1508–1539) and Maximiliaan (1539–1548). In addition to being the incumbent of Cuijk, the dean Gerardus Clingel (1528–1537) was also canon of both chapters of his town of birth Grave, both established by the Lords of Cuijk;

⁴⁵ De Moor, 'Het gezin', 64–66.

⁴⁶ Another rural dean, Johannes Back (nr. 926*), probably was incumbent of Boutersem (between Louvain and Tienen in present-day Belgium) in 1420, but in that period the seigniorship of Boutersem was no longer in the possession of the Lords of Bergen op Zoom, who descended from the House Boutersem until 1419 (Van Ham, *Macht en gezag*, 56–57, and kind communication of 23 August 2001). See for the advowsons held by the Lord of Bergen-op-Zoom Van Ham, 'Macht en geloof', 31–32, 35, 40–46.

Saint George's chapter even had its seat in the chapel of the seigniorial castle in Grave. His successor Simon Kreeft (1550–1569), who also came from Grave, was the son of Henry Kreeft, who served the then Lords of Grave and Cuijk as steward and secretary between 1512 and 1545.

In the deanery of Woensel we see a different pattern. There the office of dean—after two successive parish priests of Nederwetten had been deans—became connected to one cure from 1460 onwards, that of the neighbouring parish Nuenen and Gerwen: of the eight deans in office after 1460 six were incumbents of this parish. The explanation for this should not be sought in the holder of the advowson of this cure, namely the dean and the chapter of Kortessem, a relatively insignificant secular chapter in the county of Looz (part of the prince-bishopric Liège). It is more likely that the influential parish priests of this rich parish managed to pass on the office of rural dean with their pastoral benefice. In all cases the deans of Woensel were incumbents of a parish close to the principal place of the deanery, Woensel, and near the small town of Eindhoven, where a decanal meeting took place in 1424. Just as the city of Breda became the centre of the deanery of Hilvarenbeek and the centre of the deanery of Cuijk first gravitated towards Bois-le-Duc and later to Cuijk and Grave, so Eindhoven seems to have become the 'natural' centre of the deanery of Woensel. Perhaps the attraction of this town resided in the presence of the town chapter (established in 1399) with a corresponding spacious church, in addition to the security offered by the town walls. Since Eindhoven saw quite a few changes of lords in the fifteenth century (before this seigniority also came under control of the House of Egmond)⁴⁷ it is difficult to determine whether in this case too we can observe a consistent influence on the election of deans by the local lords, as we suggest was the case in the deanery of Hilvarenbeek on the part of the Lord of Breda and in the deanery of Cuijk on the side of the House of Egmond.

⁴⁷ Melssen, 'De geschiedenis van Eindhoven', 69–71.

Additional offices

Among the parish priests of North Brabant (and among ecclesiastical persons generally) it was true that the higher the completed studies, the greater the chance of an accumulation of offices and benefices and consequently the chance of absenteeism. This can also be observed among the rural deans, for some of whom this office will have been no more than an additional one, located in a place and a region in which they did not reside. Those who had completed higher studies—especially the deans of Hilvarenbeek—were also the ones with the most prestigious prebends and most church offices.

In the first half of the fifteenth century the rural deans of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel were clearly of a somewhat lowlier stature than thereafter. This is evident from the small number of their additional functions. Of the deans of Hilvarenbeek until 1456 only one possessed a canonry beside his cure. One of them was *foraneus* or judicial officer of the archdeacon before his election as dean. The deans of Woensel present a comparable picture until 1464. In contrast, during the entire period from 1400 until 1570 the deans of Cuijk remained on the level of priests who, indeed, surpassed their fellow parish priests through study and office, but who did not distinguish themselves through extraordinary sinecures. We see among them only one keeper of the seal of the diocese of Liège (Jasparus Hebscaep) and a protonotary apostolic (Herbertus Greveraedt). A wind of change blew through Hilvarenbeek with the election of Walterus van Corswarem (possibly in 1456) and in Woensel with the election of Antonius Pruenen (before 1478). Van Corswarem and his successors collected lucrative and prestigious ecclesiastical positions such as archdeacon and keeper of the seal of the diocese (Van Corswarem himself), suffragan bishop and vicar-general of the diocese of Cambrai (his successor Johannes de Glimes), counsellor of the Bishop of Liège (De Glimes and Johannes van Nispen) and archdeacon and papal nuncio (Johannes Huberti van Lommel). As a member of the Council of Brabant, Van Lommel was the only dean with an additional office in the secular domain: apparently the deans were first and foremost ecclesiastical functionaries. As we have seen, it is likely that the Lord of Breda was responsible for the increased prestige of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek after 1456. These additional offices give us the distinct impression that these deans must have left the practical execution of their tasks to substitutes (see

below). This means that these highly educated men used the expertise which they had acquired at universities and in the ecclesiastical administration usually for other tasks and offices than their decanal obligations. Again this proves that these clerics with their high degrees were actually overqualified for the office of dean.

We notice the same in the deanery of Woensel, where this new trend began with Antonius Pruenen: in addition to being canon in four chapters he was also a papal servant. His successors also functioned as official of Liège for the duchy of Brabant (Wilhelmus Pottey) and counsellor of the bishop (Renerus Borman). In the years 1520–1530 the tide turned in Hilvarenbeek as well as in Woensel with a return to deans of a somewhat less elevated stature, that is to clerics born in the region and with one or two canonries at the most, namely Wilhelmus van Galen from Breda in the deanery of Hilvarenbeek (possibly elected in 1532; plate 2.1) and Rudolphus de Vries from Bois-le-Duc in Woensel (dean from 1519). Apparently the time of prestigious, very highly educated and absent rural deans, cumulating offices and benefices had passed, and less highly qualified people who actually devoted themselves to their tasks were preferred, although De Vries still was assisted by a vice-dean.

Respectively six of the thirty-one deans and two of the three vice-deans were also sworn notaries.⁴⁸ Of these six notaries two were deans of Hilvarenbeek, three were deans of Cuijk and one was dean of Woensel. At least two deans of Cuijk, Gerardus van Beest and Nicolaus Hoyberchs, continued their notarial activities after their election as deans. This fits the picture of the deans of Cuijk as ecclesiastical persons of a somewhat simpler stature who as a result actually performed their tasks, unlike their more prestigious colleagues in Hilvarenbeek and Woensel. As we have seen, these clerics did not reside in their deaneries, due to the profusion of positions, especially in the period between approximately 1450 and 1520/1530, when the decanal dignity of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel appears in most cases to have been a sinecure for clergymen who were well provided for anyway.

⁴⁸ Notaries were 293* (Van den Bichelaer, *Het notariaat*, nr. 161), 1955*, 2385*, 2497* (ibid., nr. 37), 2273* (ibid., nr. 182), 2663* (ibid., nr. 412) and the vice-deans 3594* (ibid., nr. 85) and 3596 (ibid., nr. 388).



Plate 2.1: Part of the grand retable (c.1535) depicting the history and miracles of the Holy Sacrament once venerated at Niervaart, later at Our Lady's Church in Breda. Depicted is a procession leaving the church of Breda. The priest carrying the monstrance can be identified as Wilhelmus van Galen, dean of the collegiate chapter of Our Lady's in Breda (1522/1523–1539) and rural dean of the deanery of Hilvarenbeek (1532/1533–1539) (Photo: courtesy Breda's Museum, Breda).

Personnel and substitutes

The increasing number of additional offices of deans led them to hire substitutes and personnel for their decanal tasks. This is evident from the number of notarial deeds with acting rural deans. Research done by Van den Bichelaer shows that twenty notarial deeds with acting rural deans were preserved in the Meierij in Bois-le-Duc from the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1531.⁴⁹ These mainly date from the fourteenth century (thirteen out of twenty deeds). Apparently in that century, more than in later centuries, the rural deans were themselves still involved in the completion and the recording

⁴⁹ This is a mere 0,8% of all the notarial deeds drawn up by notaries in the Meierij and studied by Van den Bichelaer.

in writing of legal transactions, although mostly only as witnesses.⁵⁰ On the other hand, we see that some deans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—especially those of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel—employed a permanent notary who formulated deeds in the dean's name and who as a representative of the rural dean performed decanal tasks on his behalf, such as the investiture of clerics in benefices.⁵¹ At that time, there was a clear tendency to delegate the decanal tasks. Often a notary performed the task of the dean's substitute. In 1502 the notary Gerardus Vries inducted the new rector of the chapel of Cromvoirt, just outside Vught, on the authority of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek. Of this transaction he made a draft deed on the back of the charter in which the rural dean had commissioned this investiture.⁵² Apparently that was common practice: in 1517 the notary Nicolaus Johannis—himself curate of Waalwijk—installed a priest as rector of an altar in this parish on the authority of the dean of Hilvarenbeek. The rescript on this matter, which he sent to the dean, was also recorded on the back of the dean's charter with his commission.⁵³ In 1522 the same notary and curate notified the dean of Hilvarenbeek that he had publicly announced the presentation of the new rector of the church of Waalwijk in that particular church and that he had summoned all those who had objected to his appointment to the dean of Diest (where at the time the ecclesiastical court of the diocese of Liège for the inhabitants of the duchy of Brabant was established).⁵⁴ As mentioned earlier, a sub-

⁵⁰ Perhaps this was a consequence of their independent chancery activities in the thirteenth century, studied by Nélis, 'Les doyens'.

⁵¹ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix I 108 nr. 80: in 1508 M. Dyerd or D. Myerd as notary of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek installed a clergyman as rector of an altar in Oostelbeers (Appendix II regest nr. 80.1 dated 13 Aug. 1508); 258–260 nr. 188: in 1488 Gerardus Hospitis van Helmond as notary signed a deed on behalf of the vice-dean of Woensel; 322–323 nr. 231: in 1508 Johannes Custodis may have worked as a notary for Johannes van Nispen, rural dean of Hilvarenbeek; 515–517 nr. 344: Jeronimus Sanders was a notary in regular service of Johannes van Nispen, rural dean of Hilvarenbeek, between 1501 and 1511; 549–553 nr. 365: In 1479 and 1484 Wilhelmus Spierinck formulated four non-notarial deeds for Gerardus van Beest, dean of Cuijk. See also *ibid.*, Appendix I 425: Meys (Remigius) Jan Peter Meyss Veltacker, notary of the rural dean of Hilvarenbeek in 1555.

⁵² Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix I, 627–628 nr. 411; Appendix II, regest nr. 411.2 dated 23 June 1502; commission by the rural dean dated 21 June 1502.

⁵³ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix I, 278–279 nr. 205; Appendix II, regest nr. 205.1 dated 18 Nov. 1517; commission by the rural dean dated 24 Oct. 1517.

⁵⁴ Van den Bichelaer, *Notariaat*, Appendix II, regest nr. 205.2 dated 23 Apr. 1522.

stitute of the successive, apparently non-resident rural deans worked in the deanery of Woensel between 1482 and 1528 and was even called 'vice-dean'. In the years 1482–1488 the university-educated Johannes de Gruyter, Premonstratensian of the Abbey of Tongerlo and incumbent of Mierlo, acted as *vice-decanus*. He was succeeded in the years 1492–1493 by Theodericus Dommelmans who worked in pastoral office as *vicarius perpetuus* of Schijndel for all of fifty-two years, from 1450 until 1502. Finally, in 1528 the notary Amisius Tectoris, also *vicarius* of Schijndel, was mentioned once as substitute of the dean of Woensel. The fact that the official rural deans of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel could delegate their tasks to clerics who were not or less university-educated indicates once again that the learned rural deans of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel were in fact overqualified for their jobs. We can conclude that it seems unlikely that a societal or ecclesiastical need was at the basis of the appointment of these highly educated people as deans.

Networks

The most important network of the higher clergy of the late Middle Ages and the early modern era was the world of the chapters. From their members all the officials at the level of the diocese and the archdeaconry were recruited. But also most deans of the deaneries under investigation here were members of at least one chapter: of only eight of the thirty-one rural deans it is unknown whether they were members of a chapter.⁵⁵ The deans of Hilvarenbeek and Woensel were particularly embedded in the episcopal see of Liège. Five of the thirteen deans of Hilvarenbeek possessed at least one canonry in one of the eight chapters in the city of Liège, three of whom in the most prestigious chapter of the diocese, the Cathedral Chapter of Saint Lambert.⁵⁶ Among them two of the rural deans of Hilvarenbeek who were also archdeacons, which position was reserved for cathedral canons. Of the eleven rural deans of Woensel four possessed a

In this case the rescript concerned was written *in dorso* of the commission by the rural dean dated 10 Apr. 1522.

⁵⁵ See nrs. 293*, 1956* (Hilvarenbeek), 2349, 2273* (Cuijk), 3490*, 3531, 3755* and 3544* (Woensel).

⁵⁶ Nrs. 624, 1955*, 610, 1957* and 1800*.

prebend in Liège, only one of whom in the Cathedral Chapter.⁵⁷ Of the seven known rural deans of Cuijk only one was also canon of Liège.⁵⁸ More than of other chapters the rural deans were canons of the chapters in the region itself: fifteen deans possessed a prebend there, in the first place of course in the great Saint John's Chapter in Bois-le-Duc (seven deans), furthermore in Saint Oda's Chapter in Sint-Oedenrode (three deans), in one or both of the small chapters of Grave (three deans of Cuijk), in Our Lady's Chapter in Breda (two canons of Hilvarenbeek), in Saint Peter's Chapter in Hilvarenbeek (two deans of Hilvarenbeek) and in Saint Gertrud's Chapter in Bergen-op-Zoom (one rural dean of Woensel). The rural deans of Hilvarenbeek are the only ones who became canons in chapters elsewhere in the diocese or outside; this is the case for five of them. It is remarkable that the rural deans of Hilvarenbeek were also the only ones who acquired prebends in other cathedral chapters: two and possibly three deans were canons of the chapter of Our Lady in Cambrai and one was a member of the Cathedral Chapter of Utrecht.⁵⁹ This points again to their higher prestige in comparison to their colleagues of Cuijk and even Woensel. Thanks to their numerous canonries in the greater and smaller chapters of the deaneries themselves, but also in the centre of the diocese and in important places outside the diocese, the deans could act as important links in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and maintain connections with the secular powers simultaneously. One could argue that they occupied key positions in the church both in the three deaneries themselves and on the higher diocesan level.

Conclusion

By examining job descriptions, origin, studies, recruitment, additional functions and networks we have built up an accurate picture of the rural deans, the ecclesiastical officials who functioned as intermedi-

⁵⁷ Nrs. 3040, 3532*, 3537 and 1649*.

⁵⁸ Nr. 2385*. He probably owed his prebend in the chapter of Saint Bartholomew to the fact that his relative with the same name (and possible father) Jasperus Hebscaep had been dean of that chapter until 1424.

⁵⁹ Cambrai: nrs. 614 and 1800* and perhaps nr. 1604, who as a vicar-general of the diocese of Cambrai will have been a member of the cathedral chapter; Utrecht: nr. 296.

aries between the higher ecclesiastical authorities and the lower clergy. Recruited from native, mainly well-to-do backgrounds, the deans of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel between 1400 and 1570 owed their jobs to their election by the assembled parish priests of the deanery, but this choice was most likely influenced by secular authorities such as the Lord of Breda and the Lord of Grave and Cuijk. Probably it was this seigniorial involvement which led to their increased social and intellectual prestige after 1450, especially in the deanery of Hilvarenbeek, less so in the deanery of Cuijk. Their extensive tasks of a mainly administrative, legal and financial nature required some education, especially in the field of the law. In this they were probably comparable to the notaries of their time. The greatest number of deans after 1450 had, indeed, gone to university to study, often canon, civil or both laws. Academic knowledge at the highest level, which a number of deans of Hilvarenbeek between approximately 1470 and 1532 had at their disposal, was superfluous, however: apparently for these deans the decanal office was a sinecure, the practical execution of which was left to substitutes, often notaries. As mentioned earlier, the successive Lords of Breda may have been responsible for the fact that they were appointed as deans in this period, which was perhaps a reflection of these lords' own needs for influential and highly educated jurists, on the one hand, and of the close connections between them and these lords at a time when the latter played a major role in the Burgundian-Habsburg politics in the Low Countries, on the other hand. Thus, in my opinion considerations of patronage and politics were more important as deciding factors for the election of these deans than ecclesiastical or social considerations. Whether such an explanation can also be adduced for the appointment of the likewise rather highly educated deans of Woensel is uncertain. In the deanery of Cuijk one continued to depend upon deans who were, indeed, university-educated but not at the highest level. Their stature may best be compared to that of an urban or ecclesiastical notary whose tasks resembled those of a dean and who, as a matter of fact, often acted as the dean's substitutes in executing these tasks.

In the last fifty years of the period researched here all three deaneries returned to deans who were, indeed, well educated albeit not at the highest level and who actually performed their tasks locally as far as we know. Even then they depended upon local personnel, mostly notaries, whether or not in permanent appointments, and

other clerics. The deans were strongly embedded in the ecclesiastical circles of both the region and of Liège: most of them were also canons in one of the many chapters of the episcopal see of Liège, and in the three deaneries. With the exception of a dean who was counsellor of the Duke of Brabant, the additional offices held by the deans were ecclesiastical only. Although probably closely connected to the secular rulers through family and patronage connections, they were first and foremost ecclesiastical officials.

Table 1: Deans of the rural deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk, and Woensel, 1400–1570.⁶⁰

Deans of Hilvarenbeek	
1390– <i>1417</i> (–1418?)	Walterus Back (nr. 624)
<i>(1418?)</i> –1421– <i>1423</i>	Johannes Back alias Van Vlijmen (nr. 926*)
<i>(1421?)</i> – <i>1423</i> – <i>1435</i>	Wilhelmus Haghen alias Van Hilvarenbeek (nr. 293*)
<i>(1435?)</i> –1438– <i>1456</i>	Johannes Rusener alias Van Breda (nr. 1955*)
<i>(1456?)</i> –1466(– <i>1470?</i>)	Walterus van Corswarem (nr. 610)
<i>(1470?)</i> –1472/1473–1479	Johannes de Glimes (nr. 1604)
[1474?	Johannes Huyet (nr. 1956*) (?)]
[1486?	Johannes Groote (nr. 1957*) (?)]
1485?– <i>1494</i>	Wilhelmus van Alphen alias Van Leiden (nr. 296)
1502– <i>1511</i>	Johannes van Nispen alias Van Breda (nr. 614)
<i>(1511?)</i> –1516–1527(– <i>1532?</i>)	Johannes Huberti van Lommel (nr. 1800*)
<i>(1532?)</i> –1533– <i>1539</i>	Wilhelmus van Galen (nr. 339)
<i>1539</i> – <i>1572</i>	Servatius Schilders (nr. 119)
Deans of Cuijk	
1421(–1456?)	Jordanus Loef alias Van Bommel (?) (nr. 2349)
1459–1470	Jasparus Hebscaep (nr. 2385*)
<i>(1475)</i> –1479–1507(– <i>1510?</i>)	Gerardus Lamberti van Beest (nr. 2497*) ⁶¹
<i>(1510?)</i> –1514– <i>1528</i>	Nicolaus Hoyberchs alias Van Bladel (nr. 2273*)
<i>1528</i> –1537	Gerardus Clinckghelt alias Clingel (nr. 2176*)

⁶⁰ The numbers refer to the bibliographical notes (including acknowledgment of sources and literature) in appendix 5 and 6 of Bijsterveld, *Laverend*. The exact years of the beginning and end of offices are given in italics.

⁶¹ Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, appendix 5 nr. 2918* (Gerardus de Beecke) should be identified with Gerardus van Beest.

Table (cont.)

1550–1565(–1569?) 1570–	Simon Henrici Kreeft (nr. 2040) Herbertus Lamberti Greveraedt (nr. 2310*)
Deans of Woensel	
1405	Godefridus Arnoldi de Molner alias Van Hooidonk (nr. 3490*)
1418–1428(–1435?)	Godefridus de Campo (nr. 3491)
1449–1450?	Godefridus Dicbier (nr. 3040)
1460?–1464?	Johannes Trabakier alias Van Mechelen (nr. 3531)
1478–1482(–1498?) 1498–	Antonius Pruenen alias Van Heerlen (nr. 3532*) Wilhelmus Pottey (nr. 3798)
1515–1519	Renerus Borman (nr. 3537*)
1519–1522(–1523?)	Rudolphus de Vries (nr. 2663)
1528–1539(–1556?)	Gijsbertus van Achel (nr. 1649*)
1556	Winandus van Winghene (nr. 3755*)
1562–1568	Petrus Marcelii Vereept (nr. 3544*)

Table 2: Geographical origin of the rural deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, 1400–1570.

origin	Hilvarenbeek	Cuijk	Woensel	total
from the same deanery	nrs. 624, 926*, 293*, 1955*, 1604, 614, 1800*, 339, 119	nrs. 2497*, 2176*, 2040, 2310*	nrs. 3490*, 3491, 3040, 3544	17
from another deanery within northern Brabant	–	nr. 2273*	nrs. 3798, 2663	3
from outside northern Brabant	nrs. 610, 296	nr. 2385*	nrs. 3531, 3532*, 3537*, 1649*	7
unknown	nrs. 1956*, 1957*	nr. 2349	nr. 3755*	4
Total	13	7	11	31

Table 3: Social background of the rural deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, 1400–1570.

social background	Hilvarenbeek	Cuijk	Woensel	total
noblemen	nrs. 610, 1604	—	nr. 3040	3
high officials	nrs. 614, 119	nr. 2040	nr. 3537*	4
well-to-do craftsmen and/or aldermen	nrs. 1955*, 339?	nr. 2497*	nrs. 3798, 2663	5
large landowners and gentlemen-farmers	nrs. 624, 926*, 1800*	nrs. 2385*, 2273*	nr. 3491	6
unknown	nrs. 293*, 1956*, 1957*, 296	nrs. 2349, 2176*, 2310*	nrs. 3490*, 3531, 3532*, 1649*, 3755*, 3544	13
Total	13	7	11	31

Table 4: Academic studies of the rural deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, 1400–1570.

study	Hilvarenbeek	Cuijk	Woensel	total
No known study	nrs. 624, 926*, 293*, 1955*	nrs. 2349, 2385*	nrs. 3490*, 3491, 2663, 3755, 3544	11
unknown study only <i>artes</i>	nr. 1957* nrs. 610, 1956*	— nrs. 2497*, 2040	nr. 3532* nr. 1649*	2 5
<i>artes</i> and canon law	—	nr. 2176*	nr. 3537*	2
<i>artes</i> and canon and civil law	nrs. 1604, 296, 614, 1800*, 119	—	nr. 3798	6
<i>artes</i> and theology	nr. 339	nr. 2310*	nr. 3531	3
canon law	—	—	nr. 3040	1
civil law	—	nr. 2273*	—	1
canon law and theology	—	—	[nr. 3469: vice-dean]	[1]
Total	13	7	11 [12]	31 [32]

Table 5: University degrees obtained by the rural deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, 1400–1570.

degree	Hilvarenbeek	Cuijk	Woensel
<i>licentiatus artium</i>	—	nr. 2310*	—
<i>magister artium</i>	nrs. 1604, 1957*?, 296, 614, 1800*, 339?, 119	nrs. 2040?	nrs. 3040?, 3531, 3532*?, 3798, 3537*?, 1649*
<i>iuris utriusque licentiatus</i>	nrs. 614, 1800*, 119	—	nr. 3798
<i>iuris utriusque doctor</i>	nrs. 1604, 296	—	—
<i>baccalaureus in decretis</i>	—	—	nr. 3040
<i>decretorum doctor sacrae theologiae baccalaureus</i>	nr. 614	—	nr. 3537*
<i>sacrae theologiae baccalaureus</i>	—	nr. 2310*	[nr. 3469: vice-dean]
<i>sacrae theologiae licentiatus</i>	nr. 339	—	—

Table 6: Universities attended by the rural deans of the deaneries of Hilvarenbeek, Cuijk and Woensel, 1400–1570.

	Hilvarenbeek	Cuijk	Woensel	total
Louvain	nrs. 1604, 1956*, 1800*, 119	nrs. 2497*, 2176*, 2040, 2310*	nrs. 3798, 1649*	10
Cologne	nr. 610	nr. 2273*	nr. 3532*?	2–3
Cologne and Louvain	nr. 339	—	nr. 3531	2
Louvain and Bologna	—	—	nr. 3537*	1
Cologne, Paris, and Bologna	nr. 296	—	—	1
Cologne, Louvain, and Bologna	nr. 614	—	—	1
unknown	nr. 1957*	—	nr. 3040	2
Total	9	5	6	20

WESSEL GANSFORT AS A TEACHER
AT THE CISTERCIAN ABBEY OF ADUARD. THE
DISMISSAL OF CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH'S
DIALOGUS MIRACULORUM

Jaap van Moolenbroek

After travelling throughout Western Europe for more than twenty-five years, master Wessel of Groningen settled permanently in his native country, probably in 1477.¹ As he himself in one of his letters indicated, he had always sought out debate and had encountered many opponents at the many universities he had come to know.² In the diocese of Utrecht the ageing theologian-philosopher could count on the protection of Bishop David of Burgundy, who appointed Wessel as his counsellor and personal physician on his return. Wessel gave up medicine around 1481 on his return from Zwolle to Groningen, the city of his birth. There, the Tertiary Sisters of the Olde Convent accommodated him on the recommendation of (again) Bishop David.³

After he had left the academic arena, the desire to enunciate and defend his ideas hardly abated. In the years 1477–1489 he wrote or completed a large number of texts of a theological and devotional nature. The nine instructive letters, which have come down to us, also date from this period. Moreover, Wessel often had the opportunity to teach and engage in debate. It is argued that he taught Scripture to the Sisters of the Olde Convent, although there is no

¹ Biography by Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 23–155 (in need of revision). Arguments for the year 1477 (c.1475, according to Van Rhijn) in my 'The Correspondence' (forthcoming).

² Wessel's collected works in *Opera* (1614). The letters: numbers and dating in my 'The Correspondence'. The quote ("Circuivi multas universitates, et certamina quaerens multos reperi contradictores"): *ep.* 5, in *Opera*, 865. Wessel stayed in the university cities Cologne, Paris, Heidelberg, Angers, Rome, Basle.

³ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 101 (protection), 136–138 (removal), supplemented with Van Rhijn, *Studiën*, 105–106 (letter of appointment dated 1 Jan. 1479) and Bakker, 'A commemorative Mass', 23 (Olde Convent). On the protection by Bishop David see also my 'Wessel Gansfort en de inquisitie'.

evidence for this.⁴ But it is undeniably true that he regularly visited the monasteries of the canons regular of Saint Agnietenberg near Zwolle and the Cistercian monks at Aduard near Groningen for tuition and debate.

Here I would like to throw some light upon his relations with Aduard. How intensive were these, and what do we know about the tenor and meaning of his tuition? In recent publications about what has been termed the 'Aduard Academy', insufficient light has been shed on the role Wessel played in this environment. It is a little-known fact that Wessel wrote a letter to a monk at Aduard about a controversial theological subject. I would like to pay special attention to the information that Wessel disapproved of the readings from the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach that were customary during the meals of the monks, after which this text was abandoned for readings in the refectory. Why did Wessel consider this classic of the Cistercian order to be dangerous instruction for the Cistercian monks of his own time? It will first be necessary to elaborate briefly upon the scarce source material about the relations between Wessel and Aduard.

The letter to the chaplain of Aduard

Among Wessel's writings is an interesting letter about purgatory, the first words of which had already been lost when it was published for the first time in 1522, including the name of the addressee.⁵ His office and residence can be determined, however. He appears to have been a monk and through "my Henry" (apparently Wessel's messenger) Wessel heard a statement from this man which challenged him to a response. A short letter written by Wessel to Johannes of Amsterdam, a regular canon of the Agnietenberg near Zwolle, and delivered by "our Henry", is enlightening in this respect. It is in fact a letter accompanying a copy of the beginning of a disputation that had arisen with the chaplain in Aduard concerning purgatory.⁶ The

⁴ Rummel, 'Voices of Reform', 73. Weiler, 'The Dutch Brethren', 311.

⁵ *Ep.* 3, first printed by Simon Corver, Zwolle (NK 2202), reprinted by Petrus Pappus à Tratzberg in *Opera*, 857–860. Van Rhijn did not discuss this letter.

⁶ *Ep.* 4, *Opera*, 863–864.

latter theme dominates the letter to the anonymous monk, making it possible to situate him even though his name remains unknown. His office is also not as clear as one would wish, also because the Aduard archives were lost. In 1520 a chaplain at Aduard was also mentioned, a prominent member of the convent from the (Van) Rees family. He may have been the chaplain of the abbot of the monastery.⁷

In what way did Wessel feel challenged by this monk? “You sent word by my Henry that if I were close at hand, you would cure me by a debate—which you were unable at such a distance to arrange.”⁸ This was grist to Wessel’s mill. Courteously he expressed his delight “in debates between the keenest intellects”. Wessel’s point of view was already familiar to the chaplain; in his letter Wessel intended to supply him with the accompanying arguments. In this dispute the abbot had to act as arbiter, according to Wessel. He wanted to bring the abbot of Aduard, then Henricus van Rees (1450–1485), into the discussion. Moreover, he asked his permission for this debate about a matter of religious doctrine with one of his monks.

It is clear that Wessel eagerly sought a platform for his opinions in Aduard, not long after he had returned to his native country, I suspect. The letter suggests that Wessel was quite a long way from Aduard when his messenger Henry returned from his visit. Apparently the Agnietenberg was relatively nearby, since there they knew Wessel’s messenger, “our Henry”. The assumption that the letter was written in Zwolle is supported by the following consideration: in the years in which Wessel lived in Groningen, the chaplain of Aduard will have had ample opportunity to engage in debate with Wessel about the important theme of purgatory. For as we shall see Wessel often visited Aduard in this period.

⁷ “Jacobus Rees cappellaen”; charter of 1520, in: Brugmans (ed.), ‘De kroniek van het klooster Aduard’, 126. The thirteenth-century lives of the Premonstratensian abbots of Mariëngaarde frequently mentioned such a chaplain; see *Vitae Abbatum Orti Sancte Marie*, Lambooy and Mol (eds.), 452 (“cum suis capellanis predicti abbates simul convenientes”).

⁸ “Mandasti per hunc Henricum meum, si cominus essem, quod eminus constitutum nequis, disputando me sanares”; *Opera*, 857. Translation: Miller-Scudder, *Wessel Gansfort I*, 252 (slightly adapted).

Further testimonies

Further information about Wessel and Aduard dates from the period following his death on October 4, 1489. Shortly afterwards the abbot Wolterus I (1485–1494) presented the Sisters of the Olde Convent with a gift for the celebration of a yearly Mass in his memory, as is clear from a recently published charter.⁹ In the same period Paul of Pelant (Pelantinus), physician in Zwolle and regular visitor to Aduard, wrote an interesting *epicedion* for Wessel. Judging from the inscription, this elegy was written at Aduard in 1490. Moreover, he wrote an epitaph.¹⁰ Further important information is provided by the—only partially handed down—biographical text *De Wesselo Groningensi*, which was written in the early sixteenth century by an inhabitant of the city of Groningen who had heard Wessel speak at Aduard.¹¹

Most of the information about Wessel and Aduard has come down to us through the belated diligence of Albertus Hardenberg (c. 1510–1574). Educated at the boarding house of the Groningen Brethren of the Common Life under rector Goswinus van Haelen (c. 1468–1530), he became a novice in 1527 and one year later a monk at Aduard. After having familiarized himself with Protestant insights from 1530 onwards during his studies at Louvain, he apostatized in 1542/43 to become a Reformed minister. Shortly after 1561 he began a piece of writing about Wessel.¹² In the original manuscript this consists of two parts which were treated rather casually in the only print of 1614.¹³ The second part contains a biographical sketch, which ends with Wessel's return to his native land. For the first part Hardenberg collected a series of written and oral testimonies about Wessel which did not eschew digressions.

The collection begins with the two poems by Pelantinus mentioned earlier; in this way his *epicedion* was saved from oblivion. Further on

⁹ Edition Bakker, 'A commemorative Mass', 26.

¹⁰ In *Opera*, ***2r–3v. Town physician of Zwolle: Santing, *Geneeskunde en humanisme*, 31. See also n. 68.

¹¹ Edition Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, IV–V. But Goswinus van Haelen is most likely not the author; see below.

¹² Janse, *Albertus Hardenberg*, 5–8, 92–93 (biography), 501 (manuscript and edition). The Groningen Brotherhouse: Weiler, *Volgens de norm*, 120–131. Goswinus: Van Rhijn, *Studiën*, 137–159.

¹³ *Opera*, **1r–***3v. See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, XII–XIV.

Hardenberg devotes space to the three letters he received as a young monk from rector Goswinus van Haelen in 1528. In the important first letter Goswinus reacted to Albertus' announcement that he intended to devote to the sacred studies (*sacris literis*) the time which he could spare after entering the monastery and that together with congenial fellow brothers he wanted to restore Aduard to its former erudition. Subsequent to this, Goswinus praised the erudite Aduard of forty years before and longer ago, the years that Wessel lived in Groningen. In the second letter Goswinus quoted "Wessel, yes our beloved Wessel" whom he had apparently discussed often with the young Albertus.¹⁴

Hardenberg concluded his documents with eight memories of Wessel, which he himself had once heard at Aduard from monks who had been confidants and "disciples" of Wessel.¹⁵ Apparently he copied an old memoir which he edited slightly and which he provided with a commentary which became more elaborate towards the end. What is the date of the original? Even before Hardenberg entered Aduard he had acquired a printed book by Wessel.¹⁶ In 1529 he also had at his disposal a number of manuscripts and Pelantinus' *poésie funèbre*. When in the same year Wilhelmus Sagarus, a schoolmaster from Zierikzee and an admirer of Wessel, visited Aduard, Hardenberg accompanied him to the Olde Convent in Groningen where Wessel lay buried, after which he sent Sagarus writings by Wessel.¹⁷ In those years of avid interest in Wessel, he probably noted down the memoirs of the *seniores* at Aduard which he elaborated with unaltered respect after 1561.

A monastery as an 'academy'

In his first letter to Hardenberg dating from 1528, Goswinus van Haelen rejoiced in the fact that the Aduard of forty years before

¹⁴ *Opera*, **4r-5v; this quote: **5v. Oral information from Goswinus: *ibid.* **3r en 7v.

¹⁵ *Opera*, **8v-***1v.

¹⁶ In 1526, namely. NK 2200 (printed c.1521). See Kochs, 'Die Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche in Emden' II, 28.

¹⁷ *Opera*, **7v-8v. About Willem Janse Sagher: Van Rhijn, *Studiën*, 163-169, and 'Wilhelmus Sagarus'.

had been an *academia* and the old Hardenberg repeated this statement. What did they mean by this term in this context which can at present not be found in other Aduard sources, apart from their own texts?

It was not a scholarly society in the Renaissance sense of the term, as a modern interpretation has it. Following P.S. Allen (1914), Goswinus' *academia* is taken to be a circle of scholars from the north-east of the Netherlands and Westphalia, most of them humanists, who met at Aduard in order to have their learned conversations, at the invitation of the abbot Henricus, who acted as their interlocutor there.¹⁸ Such an "Adwert Academy" (Allen), however, was not what Goswinus referred to in his letter. In order to stimulate the scholarly ambitions of the newly professed monk Albertus and his supporters, he glorified the former learning of their abbey, which at that time, that is forty years before, could have been called an academy more than a monastery.¹⁹ Two related factors determine Goswinus' enthusiastic representation. Firstly, men of learning inside and even outside Frisia (including the city of Groningen) thought it worth their while "to spend whole weeks, not to say months, in Aduard, in order to hear or learn that which would make them daily wiser and better alike". It was absolutely not the case that these guests of the abbey learned all of this from each other, according to Goswinus: without a pause he speaks highly of the instruction of the abbot Henricus, who embodied "a library of the Holy Spirit and the divine letters".²⁰ For the other factor was that the monastery had an erudite abbot and a fair number of learned monks. The names of these monks, whom Goswinus admires and kisses the footsteps of, are to be found in the *Liber vitae* (actually the obituary of Aduard). He mentions four of them because they were his friends.

¹⁸ Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, 9; Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola'; Akkerman et al. (eds.), *Northern Humanism*, X; Van der Laan, 'Aduard'; Van der Laan and Akkerman, 'Introduction' to Agricola, *Letters*, 4-5.

¹⁹ "Erat ea tempestate Adwert non tam monasterium quam Academia. Horum mihi testes essent, si superessent. . .", whereupon the names of eleven visitors follow; *Opera*, **4r. See also my n. 32.

²⁰ "qui totas hebdomadas, ne dicam menses, in Adwert diversari soliti sunt, ut vel audirent vel discerent unde et doctiores et meliores quotidie efficerentur"; (abbot Henricus) "cujus pectus nihil aliud fuit quam armarium Spiritus Sancti et divinarum literarum"; *ibid.* **4r-v.

In his letter to Hardenberg, Goswinus did not present the academy as a scholarly society in the margin of the abbey. He sang the praises of Aduard as a centre of study and debate for monks and visitors alike. The interest of the monastery in knowledge and learning attracted eminent guests, who for their part raised the study at this 'monastic academy'²¹ to a higher plane, on a par with a university. This is how it was interpreted by the addressee. After having provided information about Wessel's instruction at the abbey, Hardenberg commented that Aduard was "like an academy" at the time, attracting scores of noblemen and scholars from all over Frisia. In his own time at the monastery one could detect many traces of the knowledge they had propagated, primarily by Wessel. Elsewhere Hardenberg took an academy to be a university as well.²²

To what extent was the picture presented by Goswinus true to the reality of 1485? Most monks were perhaps somewhat less erudite than he suggested, and most visitors less frequently present at the abbey, but it is true that the abbey experienced a flourishing period. It is unquestionably true that during his long administration (1450–1485) the abbot Henricus van Rees continued the policies of his predecessor Rudolphus Vriese (1423–1449) to raise the intellectual level of his monks.²³ It is equally true that Henricus gladly received highly educated guests in his monastery and at his table, and at the very least openly took note of the religious and cultural modernizations of the day, including the Italian movement for the renewal of Latin culture which reached this part of the world in the course of the century. He was not alone in this, judging from the letters which were exchanged in February–March 1469 between two early Northern humanists, Rudolph von Langen—canon of Munster—and Antonius Liber of Soest—master at Saint Martin's School in Groningen. While staying in Aduard, the former mentioned the warm interest the monk Wolterus had in *Elegantiolae* by Agostino Dati, an exemplary humanist text. Rudolph asked Liber (who had called

²¹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 127.

²² "Erat autem Adwerdia quasi Academia quaedam, ad quam nobiles et docti ex tota Phrisia turmatim accurrebant"; *Opera*, ***1v. "Academia"; see also **2v ("in suam Academiam Heidelbergam"); **3r.

²³ Mol, 'Aduard 1192–1594', 32, 290. Henricus became abbot in (Jan.) 1450, instead of 1449, as is argued here and practically everywhere else. See already Post, 'Het Sint Bernardsklooster' II (1923), 226.

Wolterus “our friend” in an earlier letter) to send “us” quickly a missing part of that book, apparently referring to both Wolterus and himself.²⁴ Elsewhere Rudolph mentioned that he wrote while people around him were busy in conversation. From the perspective of ‘the Adwert Academy’ the interpretation is clear: “even then there were erudite conversations between non-monks going on.”²⁵ But why assume that Rudolph’s interlocutors in February 1469, in the heart of winter, were fellow guests only whom he does not refer to? He did mention the monk Wolterus, probably the later abbot Wolterus I, about whom a contemporary said that as a monk he was truly a kindred spirit of the man he would succeed, the abbot Henricus.²⁶ As abbot, Wolterus followed his policies. During a visit to the abbey around 1488 the young Goswinus even experienced how, after the midday meal, the abbot Wolterus kept nearly all the monks there for instruction until evening prayer.²⁷

No matter how scarce the sources, one may safely assume that in this period Aduard had a relatively large number of well-educated monks. The chaplain of Aduard—with whom Wessel wanted to have a high-quality theological debate—has already been mentioned above. One of the anecdotes noted by Hardenberg he heard from Andreas Munterus, an erudite monk who was invited, together with Wessel, by the abbot Henricus van Rees to his table when a famous, according to reports, Parisian doctor visited Aduard.²⁸ Of the four monks whom Goswinus had befriended after 1488, Arnoldus Gryp had studied at Cologne, where he enrolled in the *artes* Faculty as a *professor in Aedwart*, that is a teacher. When the abbot Henricus died he was subprior, and wrote a Latin poem in his honour.²⁹ Other monks had also studied at Cologne, among them *Henricus de Aedwerth*, who enrolled as an *artes* student in 1449. Perhaps he was the abbot Henricus van Rees or Henricus van Edam, whom Goswinus called

²⁴ Langius, *ep.* 3, and Liber, *ep.* 1; ed. Van der Laan, *Anatomie*, 85, 117. Dati: q.v. 88, 430–432.

²⁵ “ex medio colloquencium”; Langius, *ep.* 3; *ibid.* 85. Akkerman and Santing, ‘Rudolf Agricola’, 20.

²⁶ Brugmans (ed.), ‘De kroniek van het klooster Aduard’, 71.

²⁷ *Opera*, **5r. Goswinus wrote about it in 1528.

²⁸ *Opera*, ***1r. About the “famatissimus quidem doctor Parisiensis” Hardenberg only says that perhaps his first name was Martinus.

²⁹ Brugmans (ed.), ‘De kroniek van het klooster Aduard’, 69–70. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 129.

his third learned friend at Aduard.³⁰ The other two were Bernardus van Doesburg, later abbot (1505–1506), and Rodolphus Hillebrandus, called Bolens, who could have been the most learned of them all, according to Goswinus. Young Hardenberg received Pelantinus' elegies from this 'disciple' of Wessel. Rodolphus had copied them from his autograph.³¹

Many visitors belonging to the cultural and religious vanguard of that time and region felt at home in this relatively erudite and open Aduard environment. Goswinus mentions eleven people,³² Rudolph Agricola and Wessel of Groningen first among them. Rudolph van Langen and Paulus Pelantinus we have already encountered, the names of others will be mentioned later. When Goswinus mentioned Agricola *before* Wessel, this was without doubt due to the greater fame of the former, certainly in 1528. Wessel has meant much more to Aduard than Agricola, who only lived in Groningen from 1479/80 until April 1484 after his study and who also travelled widely as the town secretary of Groningen at that time. In his many letters, Aduard hardly rates a mention.³³ Wessel, in his turn, had the opportunity to contribute to the study at Aduard from around 1477 to 1489.

Wessel teaching

The importance of Wessel's role is emphasized by the author of *De Wesselo Groningensi*. The fragment begins to tell that many came to Aduard from Groningen as well as from faraway cities, for instance Rudolph van Langen from Munster, Alexander Hegius from Deventer

³⁰ Van Rhijn, *Studien*, 160–162 identifies him incorrectly as the procurator of the Brotherhouse in Deventer.

³¹ Rodolphus: *Opera*, ***3v. Cf. Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola', 26 note 23.

³² Twelve, according to Van der Laan, 'Aduard', 184. He incorrectly includes Johannes Canter's son Jacob. Goswinus' 'witnesses' (excluding Johannes Oostendorp) were dead in 1528, as he himself mentions, and Jacob Canter only died in 1529. In their introduction to the *Letters* of Agricola Van der Laan and Akkerman write (p. 4): "In his letters Goswinus mentions twenty-three names of men who can be considered regular visitors of Aduard." However, apart from the twelve people mentioned earlier, Goswinus mentions thirteen others, among them nine monks of Aduard (three abbots, a prior and five monks)—visitors in their own abbey?

³³ Town secretary: Bakker, 'Roeloff Huusman'. Abt Henricus in Agricola's *ep.* 26, 27, dating from 1482; *Letters*, Van der Laan and Akkerman (eds.), 158.

(he was also mentioned by Goswinus)³⁴ and Paulus Pelantinus. "We visited Aduard to listen to the holy as well as erudite abbot Henricus Rees and to our fellow townsman Wessel, an omniscient man, if I may say so." "There was no area of knowledge befitting an educated man that Wessel was not aware of", according to this witness, apparently an inhabitant of the city of Groningen.³⁵ Whoever he was (city curate Wilhelmus Frederici, town physician Lambertus Vrylinck?),³⁶ he presented the versatile Wessel as the most important tutor after the abbot Henricus. Further on he also mentioned in passing that "our Rodolph Agricola" visited Aduard.

Instruction on this level must have only appealed to an occasional audience of highly educated monks and similar guests. The abbot Henricus counted as a great orator but Wessel was no less talented, according to Pelantinus. In his *epicedion* he glorified Wessel's captivating and lofty expositions. Time never hung heavy on the hands of the physician from Zwolle, one day merely seemed a scant hour to him. Tirelessly, Wessel alternatively listened and talked. According to Pelantinus, he saw to it that during these long debates all seriousness was combined with jest.³⁷ The monks also recalled that the atmosphere was not always heavy. One of Hardenberg's anecdotes related a witty answer that Wessel gave to Johannes Canter, a learned burgher of Groningen who was also listed among the visitors of Aduard by Goswinus.³⁸

Hardenberg also mentioned a different type of tuition practised by Wessel, his teaching of younger monks (*juniores*). He explained the Psalter to them, complaining that the Vulgate was so obscure. When the brothers asked him questions he ordered the Hebrew codex, on the basis of which he answered the questions and explained many other erudite matters.³⁹ Apparently Wessel was involved in the

³⁴ Rector of the school in 1483-1498. He wrote Wessel a letter (*ep.* 9); ed. *Opera*, ***4v-5r, and more recently Bedaux, *Hegius poeta*, 318.

³⁵ "Aedwerdt venire consuevimus, primum ut sanctum virum iuxta doctum Henricum Rees abbatem audiremus, deinde Wesselum nostrum municipem, virum ut sic dicam omniscium . . . Ita nihil erat in ulla scientia, liberali homine digna, quam Wesselus non percalluit"; ed. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, IV-V.

³⁶ Van Rhijn thought of Goswinus, who had not been in a position to listen to the abbot Henricus, as he himself indicated; *Opera*, **4v. The others: Akkerman and Santing, 'Rudolf Agricola', 25, 27; Tervoort, 'Iter Italicum', 140, 214.

³⁷ *Opera*, ***2v.

³⁸ *Opera*, ***1r. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 128.

³⁹ *Opera*, ***1v, like the tradition pointed out below.

tuition in the monastery school in addition to the regular teachers, to which subprior Arnoldus Gryp had once belonged.⁴⁰ He gave the younger monks instruction in their basic book, the Psalter, during which he fell back on the original language with which the North was virtually unfamiliar. He would read Hebrew, and in a loud voice, while the other monks listened in surprise and admiration to these strange sounds, as the monk Johannes Gallus had narrated.

Other information was presented by Hardenberg in an extended passage, the core of which I take to be the following. Supported by the abbot Henricus, Wessel tried to re-establish the two ancient schools of Aduard: the school for elementary education and the school of philosophy and theology.⁴¹ However, after the death of the abbot Henricus his plans were thwarted. So Hardenberg's words suggest that Wessel tried to regularize the flourishing but temporary 'monastic academy', and also wanted to reorganize elementary education. It is difficult to determine whether the master and the abbot did indeed cherish these plans.

Wessel was undoubtedly an eminent teacher at Aduard. How great his reputation was is illustrated by another fragment of Hardenberg. On Maundy Thursday the reading for collation was usually skipped; instead Wessel read Jesus' speech held at the Last Supper (in John 13-17). The reading for collation had to take place in the early evening, traditionally in the wing of the cloister adjacent to the church in the heart of the abbey. So in spite of the *clausura* a guest stood at the lectern opposite the monks' bench and held up before them Jesus' last admonitions for mutual love and unity.⁴² This was an indication of the exceptional respect in which Wessel was held, who was indeed erudite and pious but no clergyman.

⁴⁰ See n. 29.

⁴¹ In the thirteenth century the school for elementary education was situated in Roodeschool and the other school (for 'artes' and 'canones') in the monastery itself, according to the tradition of Aduard; Brugmans (ed.), 'De kroniek van het klooster Aduard', 37-38. Hardenberg, who reversed the locations, also mentioned a distant past.

⁴² *Opera*, ***1v. The collation: see for instance Kinder, *Die Welt der Zisterzienser*, 139-141.

Objectionable books

What we hear in the last of the passages of Hardenberg's *Vita Wesseli* to be discussed here is this: when Wessel ate in the refectory, which he liked doing (again notwithstanding the clausura), he would listen to the devotional reading, which was customary during the meal. A favourite at the Cistercian monasteries was the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Caesarius of Heisterbach, according to Hardenberg. "Wessel always listened to it, and then smiled sweetly. Being asked why he did so, he replied: 'I am laughing at its crass falsehoods. It would be better to have the Holy Scriptures and the devotional writings of Bernard presented before the brethren; for this contains not only absurdity, but much that is dangerous.'" After his admonition, Caesarius began to be despised in Aduard, and soon was altogether discarded.⁴³

Initially, only the Holy Scriptures were read during meals in the Cistercian Order, but soon the repertoire became broader.⁴⁴ It is not hard to understand the late medieval popularity of the *Dialogus miraculorum* (1219–1223/24), in which a Cistercian monk teaches a novice in his order monastic spirituality and religious doctrine: brief observations are elucidated by a series of *exempla* filled with miracles and visions.⁴⁵ The 746 chapters are entertaining and instructive, usually short, and written in a Latin that is not too difficult. Moreover, the confidence of the dining Cistercians was pleasantly confirmed, because the book was also an ode to their own order, to which God had shown a remarkable number of signs of mercy. This was especially the case in the monasteries of the Clairvaux filiation, to which Aduard also belonged. The monastery was even mentioned in the *Dialogus* a number of times⁴⁶ among a substantial number of tales from the North. The fact that people at Aduard knew and appreciated the book was also evident from the part of the chronicle written during

⁴³ "Ad illam semper auscultabat Wesselus, et subinde suave ridebat. Rogatus causam, dicebat: Rideo crassa mendacia. Praestaret Sacras literas et Bernhardi devotalia [sic] Fratribus proponi: nam hæc præter ineptiam etiam multa periculosa continent"; *Opera*, ***1r–v.

⁴⁴ Kinder, *Die Welt der Zisterzienser*, 310–315.

⁴⁵ Josephus Strange (ed.) (1851; hereafter: *DM*). See my *Mirakels historisch*, with a bibliography until 1999. The best introduction in English: McGuire, 'Written sources' and 'Friends and tales'.

⁴⁶ *DM* VII, 3; X, 41; XI, 30, commented upon in my *Mirakels historisch*, 89–94, 178–182, 205–210.

the reign of Abbot Henricus: for the Saint Marcellus flood of 1219 a chapter of the *Dialogus* was followed, which narrated how the cause of the disaster had been revealed to the aunt of the then abbot of Aduard.⁴⁷ The fact that Wessel did not consider this book fit for the monks' instruction was almost a provocation.

According to Hardenberg, Wessel condemned two other documents. The statement that after Wessel's admonition Caesarius began to be despised, and soon was altogether discarded, is directly followed by the statement that the same happened to the book *De viris illustribus ordinis Cisterciensis*, which Wessel used to call "nonsense polished up with monastic labour; for the author was a careful rhetorician". This was another classic of the Cistercian Order, now known as *Exordium magnum Cisterciense* (approximately 1180–1206) attributed to Conrad of Eberbach.⁴⁸ In a lofty style this author glorified and propagated the Cistercian monastic virtues on the basis of many miracles, visions and other signs of mercy especially in Clairvaux and its affiliated monasteries. If Wessel considered the *Dialogus* dangerous to Cistercian monks the same went for the *Exordium*: on the whole, both texts are spiritually one. Incidentally, it is striking that the information about the *Exordium* seems to have been rather casually added to a self-contained story about the *Dialogus*. Do we hear Hardenberg himself in this passage? As the owner of a manuscript of the *Exordium* from the Cistercian monastery Sibculo he could have had an opinion of the work.⁴⁹ In any case, the reference to this work in our source is clearly secondary.

From a different time and subculture than the two previously mentioned texts, came a third document which Wessel abominated exceedingly, according to Hardenberg. In *De conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu* (1385–1390) Friar Bartholomeus of Pisa had broadly constructed forty similarities between the lives of Jesus and Saint Francis. Of course this Franciscan document was not read at Cistercian meals (Hardenberg does not say it was) and it is open

⁴⁷ *DM VII*, 3, reproduced in an abridged version; Brugmans (ed.), 'De kroniek van het klooster Aduard', 38–42.

⁴⁸ "quem vocabat monastico labore concinnatas nugas. Scriptor enim studiose in eo rhetoricatur". The *Exordium magnum Cisterciense*. B. Griesser (ed.) (1961).

⁴⁹ Hermans, *Middeleeuwse handschriften*, 58–59, and 'Cisterciënzer handschriften', 257. However, every relationship with Aduard is guessed at; Hardenberg could have acquired the manuscript after his leaving.

to question whether the monastery owned a copy of this capacious work. It is possible that Wessel merely expressed his aversion to a book which gave the impression that Jesus was some kind of pre-figuration of Saint Francis. In Protestant circles it was reviled, especially after the much-read florilegium published by Erasmus Alber in 1542, accompanied by vitriolic annotations and a preface by Luther.⁵⁰ After 1561 Hardenberg had no better way of honouring Wessel than to let him abominate this work exceedingly. Here it can be left aside.

Dangerous instruction

There is a tendency to simply explain Wessel's aversion to the two Cistercian documents from their miraculous content, leading Maarten van Rhijn to use the word "bizarre".⁵¹ It is, however, not that self-evident. Wessel's theology did have room for miracles, the cause of which—after the elimination of scholastic sophistication—he explained no differently than Caesarius, namely in the divine will working irregularly, while nature is the divine will working regularly.⁵² In two works Wessel himself narrated an *exemplum* which would have been a jewel to the *Dialogus*. On the authority of two pious merchants from Genoa, he narrates how a priest lost his way in the mountains in October and how he survived the winter by licking a glittering stone, imitating snakes, which had appeared in the moonlight.⁵³

Approximately forty per cent of Caesarius' *exempla* consists of stories about apparitions and visions. In his appreciation of such tales Wessel did not differ principally from Caesarius. He wrote to Gertrudis Reyneri, Benedictine of Klarewater near Zwolle, that he did not discount revelations and visions if they were consistent with the truth; they could build belief, not as pivot or anchor, but like the non-

⁵⁰ About Bartholomeus' *De conformitate* and Albers' *Alcoran*: Reblin, *Freund und Feind*, 71–78.

⁵¹ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 134. Cf. Post, 'Het Sint Bernardusklooster' II, 140–141.

⁵² Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 159–161. Caesarius: see for instance *DM X*, 1 and 72.

⁵³ *De oratione dominica*, VIII, 4, and *De sacramento eucharistiae*, XII; *Opera*, 144–146 and 684 (short version). Other *exempla*: q.v. 400–402, 600–604.

canonical documents did.⁵⁴ Caesarius also wanted to document only those visions among many which were consistent with Christian truth.⁵⁵

So Wessel did not reject miracles and visions, and his objections to the *Dialogus* cannot be simply attributed to a 'humanist' revulsion at the type of narration and the fables of medieval authors.⁵⁶ It is difficult to deny that, in his enthusiasm about the many signs of God reported to him, the author of the *Dialogus* puts the responsibility for the things he wrote rather carelessly on the shoulders of informants⁵⁷ and noted a great number of remarkable but also foolish things. The haphazard accumulation of all kinds of 'signs', from miracles against nature to simple subjective interpretations, did not increase the persuasiveness of the *Dialogus*. Wessel might, however, not have felt strongly about readings from Caesarius' "foolishness" (often not more foolish than the *exemplum* narrated by Wessel), had he not detected danger in their meaning. His ideas about what counted as wholesome instruction to the monks differed in many ways from those of Caesarius.

His letter to Sister Gertrudis illustrates this on an important matter. The Benedictine nun had asked Wessel's opinion about the apparition of a deceased person discussed by the people around her. According to Wessel, most of these stories—if one did not take them with a pinch of salt—were "dangerous" (the same word Hardenberg used in his anecdote) and deceptive. In most such visions Satan often included much that is true, in order that he may stealthily weave in a single falsehood. Wessel seemed to think the same about the apparition Gertrudis wrote to him about, because it gave the impression that the dead continue to weaken and retard their progress by concerning themselves with our infirmities and worthlessness. The attention of these souls which died in the Lord is already directed completely to the Lord, according to Wessel.

Therefore, the story told by Gertrudis was at odds with Wessel's theology of purgatory, about which theme he wrote the letter addressed to the chaplain at Aduard (and examined at the beginning of this

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 10, *Opera*, 914–917. Cf. Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 145–147.

⁵⁵ For instance *DM* XII, 57, about apocalyptic visions: "quae de his audivi scribere nolui".

⁵⁶ Van Rhijn, *Studien*, 95.

⁵⁷ *DM*, 'Prologus'.

article), challenging this monk to a discussion. On the basis of arguments derived from the Bible, Wessel wanted to convince him that no faithful Christian dies in a state of perfection, but that all souls having died in grace go through a state of purification until they burn with pure love and are ready to enter heaven. In this view, which Wessel elaborated upon in other documents, the bonds between the living and the departed faithful were nearly completely broken. Generally saintly works on behalf of the latter were considered a cardinal task of the living: for the dead suffered greatly in the satisfaction of sins for which they had not yet done penance. But according to Wessel, in purgatory the souls of believers do not need the intercession of the living to hasten their deliverance. They do not find themselves in a pitiful state of penitential agony through 'material' fire but in an enviable process of 'spiritual' purification and increased enlightenment.⁵⁸ If one wanted to pray for the dead, then it should be done in a spirit of accepting meditation.⁵⁹

In his *Dialogus miraculorum* of two hundred and fifty years before, Caesarius of Heisterbach had enthusiastically propagated the opinions which Wessel rejected, especially on the basis of the many stories about the apparitions of the deceased who dwelt in purgatory and begged for help from the living. These stories are also found in Conrad of Eberbach's *De viris illustribus ordinis Cisterciensis*, as Hardenberg called this book. Stories of this type had been circulating for centuries, not least because they were stimulated by the *Dialogi* (593–594) of Pope Gregory the Great, Caesarius' shining model. How did Wessel react to this solid narrative tradition? According to him, one should not take these stories too literally. After having concluded in the penultimate of an interesting number of statements about purgatory that it is spiritual rather than penal, he concludes: "But if this is proved, it follows that the examples of all the Dialogues and the Visions of Illustrious Men must be interpreted and taken metaphorically rather than historically."⁶⁰ This statement is illuminating in

⁵⁸ Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 222–228. Koslofsky, 'Separating the Living from the Dead'.

⁵⁹ See for instance the short text 'Orare pro defunctis quare salubris cogitatio'; *Opera*, 850–851.

⁶⁰ "Quod si ista convincant, exempla omnium dialogorum, et illustrium virorum visiones parabolice potius quam historice interpretandae et accipiendae sunt"; *Opera*, 833. The same idea: *Opera*, 829–830.

more ways than one. Wessel must have known the books of Caesarius and Conrad. Furthermore, Wessel here undoubtedly reacts to a counter-argument, like the chaplain of Aduard could have advanced whom Wessel wanted to cure of his opinions in only one discussion: was it not the case that an authoritative tradition existed? Finally, for monks who were not highly educated it was not easy to take figuratively this avalanche of *exempla* which imagined satisfactory suffering in purgatory. Perhaps it was better to stop the reading of those stories altogether, especially because new stories of this type still abounded.⁶¹

The rejection of the value of intercession of the living for the dead meant that a social pillar supporting the monasteries was undermined, namely the power of prayer for the living, but more especially for the dead. Wessel thought that the pretensions the monks had of being able to impart to other people the merits of their saintly works was deceptive. Possibly those works were inadequate even for them; nothing could be guaranteed to other believers, or to fellow brethren.⁶² The Cistercian literature criticized by Wessel saw this differently: the pious works of the monks supported the Church, the world and fellow monks.

Generally, monastic life was presented by these Cistercian classics in ways that must have antagonized Wessel. He too did see this way as the most worthy one for a Christian (not necessarily in the Cistercian Order) and as a choice which allowed one to hope for a future reward. But monastic life did not need to be a harsh atonement while aspiring after the acquisition of merits with an eye to a divine reward, under the continuous supervision of diabolical temptations, confessors and vigilant fellow monks, an image which one could be left with after readings from the *Dialogus*. To an insecure nun Wessel firmly and clearly wrote that nobody is saved through her saintly works, that severe physical asceticism in the penance of monastic life is unnecessary, that it all depends on the intention, on meditation, on the piety of the heart.⁶³ Words to that effect were often held up to believers who aspired to 'perfection' and the author

⁶¹ Koslofsky, 'Separating the Living from the Dead'.

⁶² See the text 'De materia fraternitatis et participationis, oscitanter et frigide ab aliis tractata'; *Opera*, 813–815.

⁶³ *Ep.* 11; *ibid.*, 656–657.

of the *Dialogus* would also have agreed with them completely. But in his book of instructions for novices Caesarius consciously emphasized something else: the need for controlled discipline as a condition for spiritual freedom. In this view intellectual schooling was not necessarily an advantage to a monk, some holy *simplicitas* was.⁶⁴ What Wessel had in mind was an ideal monk who had been schooled in the Holy Scriptures and who was capable of discernment, who lived in a well-balanced asceticism, who did not aspire primarily to meritorious works nor to frequent prayer, but to methodical meditation and contemplation.

It was not only Wessel's thoughts about purgatory and the monastic life that tended towards 'spiritualization': it was characteristic of his whole theology, in particular of his ecclesiology and partly of his sacramental teaching.⁶⁵ Caesarius' horizon was the power Church of the fourth Lateran Council (1215) and in the *Dialogus* he emphasized to the best of his ability the necessity of holy intercession by priests through the sacraments. In a different time Wessel envisaged a Church in which the regulations of the pope and other priests were tested against the gospel, even by monks who were held to obedience,⁶⁶ and the effect of the sacraments was to be related to the constitution of the recipient. This is not the place to compare Caesarius' early thirteenth-century ideology in detail with Wessel's late fifteenth-century ideology, in which an old building construction seemed to have toppled. Of the many bones of contention possibly chewed upon by Wessel, while he listened attentively in the refectory, I will here only mention the emphasis the *Dialogus* put on the sacramental confession, this triad of heartfelt repentance, priestly absolution and penance, the fundamental value of which was tirelessly illustrated by Caesarius.⁶⁷ But according to Wessel, the remorseful believer had already been justified before confession. Satisfaction was unnecessary, because through forgiveness punishment was discharged. Through the reading of the *Dialogus* the dining monks of Aduard were falsely instructed on this matter, or so Wessel must have thought.

⁶⁴ See Schneider, 'Rheinische Zisterzienser', 121-126. One of the 12 books of the *DM* is titled 'De simplicitate'.

⁶⁵ See Weiler, 'The Dutch Brethren', 317, with the literature quoted there.

⁶⁶ See 'De vera et recta obedientia'; *Opera*, 756-757.

⁶⁷ "The confession theme is important for both Conrad and Caesarius", as McGuire rightly argues, 'Written sources', 279.

Conclusion: the master and the abbey

Wessel's importance to Aduard should not be underestimated, as two testimonies following his death on 4 October 1489 illustrate. The first one can be found in the *epicedion* written by Paulus Pelantinus when he was again the abbey's guest in 1490. Judging from its inscription, some had asked him to write a poem in plain Latin; no doubt complicated humanist poetry was not to the liking of these monks. The end of the *epicedion* reads: "Monks and brethren, show sadness on your face and mourn your patron, taken away from you undeservedly by death", after which the addressees were urged to pray for the deceased.⁶⁸ Wessel is called a patron of the monks. The abbot Wolterus I must have meant something similar when he established a yearly Mass in Wessel's memory at the Olde Convent in Groningen, because master Wessel had conferred many benefactions ("waeldaden") on the monastery at Aduard. F.J. Bakker who has published this valuable text thought that these benefactions were a material bequest in the form of books, although nothing is known about this. He thought it improbable that the "waeldaden" referred to Wessel's spiritual efforts for the abbey.⁶⁹ In the light of everything discussed here this may seem, however, highly likely. It is salient of course that Masses and prayers were devoted to a deceased who had thought this kind of help of poor value, a fact which may have increased the abbot's motivation (had Wessel been right about this, perhaps the deceased was in dire need of prayers on his behalf?).

Hardenberg assures us that Wessel had a great many 'disciples' at Aduard. At least fifteen of them he had come to know personally, which could only have been possible from approximately 1520. Wessel had died at least thirty years before, as had of course a number of 'disciples'. According to the old Hardenberg "there existed not a few examples of pure monkhood in the convent at that time, and indeed as long as Wessel's memory was sacred there and his pupils were alive".⁷⁰ As we have seen, pure monkhood in the spirit of Wessel

⁶⁸ "Vos monachi et Fratres moestos praetendite vultus,/Morteque non digna praereptum flete patronum"; in *Opera*, ***3r.

⁶⁹ Bakker, 'A commemorative Mass', 26-28.

⁷⁰ "Exstabant enim tunc non pauca exempla purioris monachismi in eo Coenobio, quanto quidem tempore Wesseli illic memoria sacrosancta erat, et discipuli ejus in vivis"; in *Opera*, ***1r.

was determined by a combination of erudition, a well-balanced asceticism and a spirituality directed at meditation. It is plausible that in this spirit his tuition had its effect on kindred spirits. Even if Wessel's influence at Aduard was short-lived, his opinions and the scope he was allowed to propagate them at the abbey were at the very least signals of old certainties starting to give way. It is certain that he greatly contributed to Aduard's brief importance as a centre of study, where new opinions in the fields of theology and the arts could be discussed by the monks and their highly educated guests in an open environment. This was perhaps not a true Cistercian ideal, but it was obviously according to the wishes of the abbots Henricus van Rees and Wolterus I and the *seniores* who were their advisers.

“PRO INCHOACIONE LIBRARIE.”
A CLOSE LOOK AT TWO LATE-MEDIEVAL
SCHOOLMASTERS AND THEIR BOOKS

Ad Tervoort

The archives of the Franciscan friary in the city of Leiden contain the testaments of two schoolmasters—an official one by Engelbert IJsbrandsz Schut and a concept testament by Jan Gherytsz—who were active in that same town in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.¹ Many aspects of these two documents merit closer attention. The documents do not only specify the testators' wishes concerning their wealth, property and the provisions for their after-life, but also give us more specific information about a number of books. These books, several of which are mentioned by name, were bequeathed to various persons and institutions. Wills dating from before 1550 are testator copies and therefore relatively scarce.² Those that mention titles of books are even rarer for the late medieval period. Though these two wills are not unique, it is not very often that we find information on the book collections of late medieval city dwellers.³ That these two mention some titles explicitly, we owe to the fortunate circumstance that the testators left the books to

¹ Gemeente Archief Leiden (hereafter GAL), Kloosters, inv. nr. 349, dated 12 Nov. 1500, and 350, most likely composed between 1503 and Apr. 1504. Engelbert was buried in the monastery; Jan Gherytsz intended to leave substantial amounts of money to both the monastery and at least one Franciscan friar there, his nephew Franciscus Willemsz, which may explain why these wills ended up in the archives of this monastery.

² The protocols of notaries public in Holland have only been handed down to us from the late sixteenth century onwards; in the case of Leiden only from 1564 onwards. See: Bijleveld, 'De oude notariële archieven'.

³ For the city of Leiden Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, 281–303, has made an inventory of institutions and persons who owned books. The lists in question have not escaped his attention or that of other scholars entirely. Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*; Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, 299–300 and Van der Vlist, 'Boekenlijst', 200, n. 12 have noted them. Although Brinkman is the only author to list the books, his listing of Jan Gherytsz's will is incomplete. For other projects taking inventory: Hermans, 'Wat lazzen Friezen'; id., "Van sekere grote ende kleine bueken".

several institutions and people rather than leaving their entire collection—unspecified—to a single institution. Both made conscious choices as to who was to receive what book.

These lists of books are the more interesting because they belonged to two schoolmasters, members of a group of professionals who played a crucial role in the process of disseminating education and the tools of learning in late medieval towns and cities.⁴ Before the sixteenth century—with very few exceptions—the sources do not reveal that much information about schoolmasters. In most cases our knowledge of this group of professionals is based on scattered information from administrative sources.⁵ These booklists offer a rare opportunity for a deeper insight into the intellectual life of these two schoolmasters, beyond what we know about them from raw administrative data. In this contribution I wish to identify as many of these books as possible. I furthermore want to focus on the schoolmasters themselves who owned these books. Who were they, what books did they read (or at the very least wished to have in their collection) and what do the contents of their bookshelves tell us about them? How does the picture that can be sketched of them, partly on the basis of their library, compare to the more general image of schoolmasters and their position in Dutch cities, in this case Leiden?⁶ Before we move on to their books and what one might learn about these schoolmasters and their place in Leiden society, it is useful to briefly introduce the two testators on the basis of the usual meagre morsels of administrative information.

⁴ Wills of schoolmasters naming books are even rarer for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. In most cases those from the sixteenth century are inventories taken to establish whether libraries contained heretical books. De Kooker and Van Selm (eds.), *Boekcultuur*, cat. 'onderwijs'.

⁵ See, for instance, the prosopographical material gathered for my master's thesis: 'Schoolmeesters'.

⁶ About schoolmasters in Holland: Tervoort, 'Schoolmeesters'. On schools and education in general: Post, *Scholen*; Bot, *Humanisme*; Nauwelaerts, 'Scholen'; De Ridder-Symoens, 'Education'; ead., 'Sécularisation'; Van Buuren "“Want ander konsten sijn my te hoghe”".

*Engelbert Schut*⁷

Engelbert Schut was born in Leiden around 1420, as son of a certain IJsbrand Gerritsz.⁸ It is assumed that he attended the school in the city of Zwolle, at the time governed by *rector* Johannes Cele. In these years he came into contact with Wessel Gansfort, who was possibly sent to attend the school in Zwolle around 1432.⁹ More concrete evidence about his life and times reaches us in 1435, when Engelbert registered with the Arts Faculty of the University of Cologne. In the register he is mentioned as *clericus*, which meant that at the time he had already taken (lower) orders. On 18 May 1436 he became *baccalaureus artium* at Cologne and nearly two years later, 5 April 1438, he was awarded the degree of *licentiatus artium*. Recently it has come to light that he was indeed awarded the degree of *magister artium* on 17 April of that year by Johannes Tinctoris of Tournai.¹⁰

Engelbert was back in Leiden probably as early as 1440, when a "meester Enghebrecht Ysbrant Gerytsz" is mentioned.¹¹ Between 1444 and 1448 he was a schoolmaster at the town school under *rector* or headmaster Bertelmees IJsbrandsz. His contract was not renewed as far as we know. He then set up his own, private school, commonly known as *bij-school*.¹² In 1458 he returned to the city school, this time as its headmaster. For six years he was in charge of it, supported by three other schoolmasters that he could handpick himself. Once again, his contract was not renewed. He probably remained in Leiden and in 1468 the city government again allowed him to

⁷ For Engelbert, see: Noels, 'Leven en werk van Engelbert Schut'; Van Rhijn, 'Engelbert'; IJsewijn, 'Coming of Humanism', 193-301; Coebergh van den Braak, 'Tafelmanieren'; id., *Zes eeuwen*, 4-7; id., 'Schut'; id. and E. Rummel (eds.), *Works*.

⁸ The alderman and burgomaster of that name died in 1513, according to Van Kan, *Sleutels*, appendix, nr. 324. This makes identification of this IJsbrand Gerritsz with the father of Engelbert unlikely.

⁹ See Van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort*, 30; for Wessel see the contribution by Jaap van Moolenbroek in this volume.

¹⁰ Tewes, 'Frühhumanismus', 668-9. Copies of the graduation acts were found in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

¹¹ GAL, Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 1559, dated 28 July 1440.

¹² In *De arte dictandi* (1454) he mentioned that pupils had been entrusted to him. *De arte dictandi*, lib. II, vss. 1012-13: "hanc ego scripturam scripsi, quo profore possem, clericulis michi commissis"; Coebergh van den Braak and Rummel (eds.), *Works*, 53.

set up his own school. That Engelbert had a certain amount of credit with the magistracy is clear. He was not even obliged to pay the standard penalty fee to the headmaster of the city school for the number of students he taught. Be this as it may, his action radius was limited in 1483, when it was determined that he could only teach those children who lived in his house. This rather tough measure was withdrawn in 1488, when the town government decided that no children under the age of seventeen could go to another school than the town school, with the sole exception of Engelbert's *bij-school*. Together with the younger Jan Gherytsz he was in charge of this school, most likely until the probable year of his death, 1503, three years after writing his testament, when he was very old and said to be ill.

Apart from his activities in education, Engelbert had other areas of competence. He was a priest and in the years 1486–7 he worked as a translator for the magistracy of Leiden, translating from Latin to Dutch and vice versa.¹³

Jan Gherytsz

About his helper, Jan Gherytsz, we know that he was the son of a certain Gheryt Jansz and Cornelia Cornelisdochter, a married couple of Leiden who also had three daughters, Hillegont, Geertruyt and another not known by name. His parents most likely died in 1486.¹⁴ The title *meester* suggests that he had studied at some university. Almost certainly he is the "Johannes Gheraerdi de Leidis" who registered with the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cologne between 22 and 25 May 1471. Upon registration it was mentioned that he was a *pauper*. This allows us to conclude that Jan did not come from the higher echelons of Leiden society.¹⁵ Jan went up for the degree of *baccalaureus* very soon after his enrolment. On 2 October of that

¹³ GAL, Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 560, f. 222r. Schoolmasters were asked more often to translate documents from Latin to Dutch. One of Engelbert's predecessors, Jan Gerritsz Gheen translated a papal bull for the magistracy in 1433–4; Meerkamp van Emden, *Stadsrekeningen*, II, 408.

¹⁴ GAL, Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 1743 and 1935.

¹⁵ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Rich men', for a *status quaestionis* on social hierarchy within universities.

same year he was presented as a candidate for this examination, on which occasion it was mentioned that he was a *minor*. As students for the bachelor's degree were not supposed to be younger than fifteen, we may conclude that he must have been some fourteen years of age. His date of birth must therefore have been around 1457–8. On 16 April 1474 he was awarded the title of *magister artium* by Theodoricus of Dordrecht.¹⁶

His first known professional activities took place in the late eighties, when he joined Engelbert as a schoolmaster—“discipulorum eius conrector” as he is mentioned in the will—at his school in Leiden. He continued to teach at this school after Engelbert's death, which most likely occurred in 1503, when the provisions made for the school of Engelbert by the city government were awarded to Jan.¹⁷ In April 1504 Jan bought the second half of a two house block—the first half of which was left to him by Engelbert in his will—from the original heirs, the sister convents of Saint Michael and of Saint Mary Magdalen.¹⁸ He is last mentioned in 1513, when he was appointed executor of the will of the priest of Saint Agatha's convent in Leiden.¹⁹

Their books

One of the interesting features of the wills of Engelbert and Jan is that they, albeit sometimes cryptically, name books that belonged to them. Let us explore these titles and the heirs to them, grouped by intended heir. Then we may try to further reconstruct the contents of their bookcases using other clues. The earlier testament of Engelbert names the following books.

I. The chaplains of Saint Peter's Church in Leiden were listed to receive “. . . Chronicam Anthonini et eiusdem egregiam summam in tribus voluminibus et catholicon . . .” Three titles that can be identified as:

¹⁶ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 330, 117.

¹⁷ Hamaker, *Middeneeuwsche keurboeken*, 188.

¹⁸ GAL, Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 1563. This allows us to date the concept will of Jan Gherytsz between 1503 and Apr. 1504. Perhaps the recent death of his master convinced Jan Gherytsz of the necessity to draw up a will of his own.

¹⁹ GAL, Kloosters, inv. nr. 5, 12 Nov. 1513. Another executor mentioned in this will was Simon Ewoutsz, also present in the wills of both Engelbert and Jan.

1. Antoninus Florentinus, *Chronicon sive summa historialis* (c.1440). This work was written by Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459), Dominican theologian, Archbishop of Florence from 1446 onwards. A chronicle in three parts and twenty-four books of which the last two dealt with Antonino's days. There were three printed editions before 1500.²⁰
2. Antoninus Florentinus, *Summa moralis* (c.1440). This work by the same author was a most popular text for moral theology of the later Middle Ages, in which moral theology emerged as a discipline of its own. It was intended to assist priests with their work of preaching, hearing confession and counselling. At least sixteen editions were printed before 1500.
3. Giovanni Balbi, *Catholicon* (late thirteenth century). This lexicon annex dictionary for the Bible by the Genoese Dominican Giovanni Balbi was one of the first books to be printed in Mainz in 1460 (even attributed to Gutenberg) and a classic of the early printing press. At the very end of the fifteenth century it had to make way for the humanist lexicons.

II. "Pro inchoacione librarie", to start a library in the Church of Our Lady, for the benefit of the priest, chaplains and other priests there, Engelbert left "... bibliam cum glosa ordinaria in magna forma ...". This can be identified as

1. *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis et interlineari Anselmi Laudunensis*. The glosses to the Bible have been attributed to Walafrid Strabo (c. 808–849), teacher, poet, abbot of Reichenau and courtier of Louis the Pious, but are in fact a work of the twelfth century. It was printed several times before 1500.

III. The Cistercians in Wateringen were to receive "... bibliam in pergamento scriptam in quator voluminibus ...". This Bible was the only title that was explicitly described as a manuscript on parchment rather than a printed text.

IV. The Augustinian canons in the city of Haarlem: "... dictionarium". The word *dictionarius* was used since the thirteenth century

²⁰ J.B. Walker, *The 'Chronicles'*.

for dictionaries of some sort. Few dictionaries, however, were actually referred to explicitly as such. One of the very few was the *Summa de abstinentia* also known as the *Dictionarius pauperum*, a popular distinction collection by the Franciscan preacher and moral theologian Nicolaus de Byard (*fl.* 1250).²¹ But perhaps it might refer to Johannes Crastonus', *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* also called the *Dictionarium Crastoni*. Giovanni Crastone (*c.* 1420–*c.* 1497), a Carmelite friar and humanist composed this Greek-Latin dictionary (and a Latin-Greek dictionary) in the seventies of the fifteenth century. It was printed several times in the North-Italian cities.²²

V. Engelbert's kinsman *magister* Odarus in Haarlem was to receive "... panormitanum et decretum ...". These can be identified as:

1. Nicolaus de Tudeschis, *Consilia*. Nicolaus de Tudeschis (1386–1445), abbot and later Archbishop of Palermo (hence *Panormitanus*) was one of the most influential canonists of the later Middle Ages and wrote this work on canon law.
2. Almost certainly the famous *Decretum Gratiani*. Gratianus, a Benedictine monk from Bologna (†1158), composed the *Concordia discordantium canonum* which stands out as one of the most important corpora of canon law.²³

VI. Symon, who lived with Engelbert and whom we might identify with Simon Ewoutsz, priest of the Faliede Beguines in Leiden, was on the list for a "... parvam bibliam ac aliam cum lyra ...". A small Bible, therefore and the second one is a *Biblia cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*. Nicolaus of Lyra (1270–1349), Franciscan and professor of Theology at the University of Paris, was the most important Bible commentator of the Franciscan Order. His *postillae perpetuae* was the

²¹ Early editions of the *Dictionarius pauperum*: Basle 1481, Vienna 1484, Paris 1498 and 1500.

²² *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, nrs. 7812–8; Thierman, 'Wörterbuch der Humanisten'. Most of the library of the Augustinians in Haarlem is lost; Wüstefeld, *Boeken*, 36–49. There is some connection between the Augustinians in Haarlem and early humanism, as Willem Hermansz probably stayed there several times and was visited by Erasmus in 1501: see the article by Koen Goudriaan in this volume.

²³ There were many printed editions of all the decretal collections. Considering that it was given together with the *Consilia* by Nicolaus de Tudeschis, it might be that this title refers to a commentary by him on the *Decretales* of Gregory IX. See also Meinsma, *Middeleeuwse bibliotheken*, 290.

most widespread and influential Bible commentary of the Middle Ages.

Engelbert owned more books, but they are not mentioned by name in the document. Jan Gherytsz was supposed to receive "... libros suos scholasticales pro informando juvenibus utiles ...", thus the books necessary for continuing the school where he had worked with his master, Engelbert. All his other books were to be dealt with by the executors of his will. It is likely that he owned at least another seven books, since the convent Marienhaven in Warmond received seven books, representing a value of 20*l.* from "master Engbrecht", a priest in Leiden.²⁴ Neither these unknown titles nor this convent were mentioned in the will. It is likely that the executors of the will donated the books to this convent.

Here we might speculate about some of the other titles Engelbert owned (or ones that he had read at the very least). He wrote some schoolbooks himself, *De arte dictandi* and *Tractatus quidam de elegancia, compositione, dignitate dictatus*. Another work, *Colores rhetoricales cum concordantiis figurarum grammaticalium* is textually identical with the work *De coloribus verborum sententiarumque* of Antonius Haneron and it has been suggested that Engelbert wrote this at his request.²⁵ Furthermore, he wrote two smaller works, *De moribus mense* and *De pane dyalogus*. The first was a poem on table manners, the second a dialogue between 'bread, baker and eater' in which bread complains about the way he is treated. Apart from writing himself, he also took an interest in editing other people's work. He was the editor of a reprint of Antonius Haneron's *Compendium diasyntheticae sive de multipotencia activi regiminis dictionum*, to which he added an introduction and a short summary in verse for every chapter.²⁶ We may safely assume that Engelbert owned copies of his own works.

We also have some more information about a number of authors whom he had read when he was in his early twenties. In a flattering letter by a young and enthusiastic scholar to his *promotor*, Johannes

²⁴ Overvoorde, 'Cistercienserklooster', 53: "VII boecken in waarde van XX £ Holl."

²⁵ Van Thienen and Goldfinch (eds.), *Incunabula printed in the Low Countries* (hereafter *IPLC*), nr. 1929; *Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf*, nr 87; Coebergh van den Braak, 'Colores'; id., 'Schut'; id. and Rummel (eds.), *Works*.

²⁶ Printed by Gheraert Leeu in 1481, *IPLC*, nr. 1928. For an overview: Coebergh van den Braak and Rummel (eds.), *Works*.

Tinctoris of Tournai, most likely dating from February 1441, he names the writers he had studied since he had left his supervisor: Cicero, Sallust, Virgil, Persius Flaccus, Horace, Ovid, Terence and Seneca, as well as “multis quoque aliis rethoribus [*sic*] et poetis”.²⁷ Nearly all of these classical authors—and a host of others such as Quintilian, Aristotle, Hesiod, Boethius—he paraphrases or quotes more than once in his own works.²⁸ We cannot be sure that he owned works of these authors. However, the frequency and the way in which Engelbert paraphrases and quotes Cicero—as *the* model to follow, which he does in fact in some of his writings—makes it extremely likely that he owned a number of his works. The *Institutiones, Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De officiis* would be the most likely candidates. His frequent paraphrasing and citing of Alexandre de Villedieu’s *Doctrinale puerorum* (c.1199) indicate that he also owned a copy of this classic and most popular grammar of the high and later Middle Ages. There were 130 printed editions of this text in the Netherlands before 1500 (forty-three editions in Deventer alone between 1483 and 1511).²⁹

The concept will of Jan Gherytsz mentioned the following titles and intended heirs. The Friars Minor outside Leiden were to receive “. . . Cronicam magnam cum figuris. Augustinus de civitate dei. Et vitam Ieshum Lendolphi. Et Bartholomeus de (proprietatibus rerum)”³⁰

- I. The titles intended for the Franciscans can be identified as:
1. What this chronicle in folio format with woodcuts actually was, is difficult to decide. One of the most obvious, *Chronike of Historie van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant ende van den Sticht van Utrecht*, was not printed in folio format before 1500. Other candidates are the *Cronike van Brabant* (Antwerp, Roland van den Dorpe, 1497), or perhaps *Die Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen* (Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the Younger, 1499), both of which were printed in folio format with woodcuts.³¹

²⁷ Tewes, ‘Frühhumanismus’, 694–5, unearthed and edited this very interesting document.

²⁸ Coebergh van den Braak and Rummel (eds.), *Works*, passim, but see esp. pp. 20–23.

²⁹ *IPLC*, nrs. 85–214.

³⁰ “Item die minrebroeders buyten Leyden sullen hebben . . .” [() in margine]

³¹ See: *IPLC*, nrs. 560–2; 558. Van Thienen (ed.), *Incunabula in Dutch Libraries*, nr. 1230.

2. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.³²
3. Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*. Ludolphus of Saxony or 'the Carthusian' (†1378), at one stage a prior but later in life an ordinary Carthusian monk at Strasburg and Mainz, composed this popular and celebrated work between 1348 and 1368. More than a biography it is a meditation on Christ's life with doctrinal, spiritual and moral instructions.³³
4. Bartholomeus Anglicus (de Glaunvilla), *De proprietatibus rerum*. Composed by this Franciscan between 1230 en 1250, this encyclopaedic work, drawing on classical, Christian and Arabic sources, was originally intended as an instrument to understand the Bible, but acquired a much more general use and was found at universities until well into the fifteenth century. In the Netherlands it was not printed in Latin before 1500. There were three Latin editions printed in Cologne.³⁴

II. His nephew, friar Franciscus Willemsz, was to receive "aurea legenda sive passionale in houtgebonden".³⁵ There can be no doubt that this is Jacobus de Voragine's, *Aurea legenda sive passionale*. Composed between 1250 and 1280 by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, this collection of saints' lives was an absolute bestseller of the medieval period and the early period of the printing press with fourteen editions in the Netherlands before 1500.³⁶

III. His other nephew, Heynric, would inherit, apart from the contents of a wardrobe, the following titles "... dicta sinthis gemma vocabulorum Boetius de consolatione omnia dicta circa logicam et Alexandrum ..."³⁷

³² The only edition that appeared in the Netherlands before 1500 (Louvain, John of Westfalia, 1488; *IPLC*, nr. 302) was in folio format.

³³ Six editions printed in the Netherlands before 1500 (*IPLC*, nrs. 1502–7), but only one of those was in Latin, printed between 1484 and 1487 by John of Westfalia at Louvain.

³⁴ Modern edition with elaborate introduction: Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *On the properties of Soul and Body* (Toronto 1979). The Cologne editions are: *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, nrs. 3403 (Cologne, Johann Schilling, 1472), 3405 (Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the Elder, 1481) and 3408 (Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the Elder, 1483).

³⁵ "Item ic bespreke brueder Fransse myn neve XVIII Rs gulden ... ende oec sal hi hebben aurea legenda sive passionale in houtgebonden".

³⁶ *IPLC*, nrs. 1305–18, of which two were in Latin, nrs. 1305–6.

³⁷ "Item Heynric myn neve sal hebben myn ouden grawen tabbert wamboysen

1. Under the cryptic title *dicta sinthis* one might suspect that we are dealing with Alexander de Villa Dei, *Doctrinale puerorum, cum comm. Joh. Synthen*. Johannes Synthen of Delden was one of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer and acted as a warden for the *domus clericorum*. He also was a schoolmaster of Saint Lebuin's school at Deventer under Alexander Hegius. As such he had been a teacher of Erasmus, who credited both Hegius and Synthen with a more humanistic approach to letters. The fact that Jan Gherytsz explicitly names this book as *dicta* allows us to speculate that we are dealing with one of three editions of this title printed by Richard Pafraet in Deventer in 1488 that all have 'Dicta primae partis Alexandri Johannis Synthen' on the title page.³⁸
2. *Gemma vocabulorum*. A Latin-Dutch dictionary of which no less than eighteen editions appeared before 1500.³⁹
3. Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*.⁴⁰
4. The title *omnia dicta circa logicam* might conceal Petrus Hispanus, *Summulae logicae*, also referred to as the *Parva logicalia*. Petrus Hispanus (1210/20–1277), professor at Paris who also taught medicine in Siena, became Archbishop of Braga, cardinal and eventually ascended the papal throne as John XXI in 1276. His *Summulae logicae* became the standard, most widespread textbook for logic in European schools. It was printed nine times in the Netherlands before 1500.⁴¹
5. *Alexandrum* refers to Alexander de Villa Dei (or Villedieu c.1170–c.1250), *Doctrinale puerorum*. This most popular and most widely used Latin grammar of the later Middle Ages has already been listed above. It was commented on by numerous other schoolmasters and authors (for instance, the aforementioned commentary by Johannes Synthen) until it was replaced by humanist grammars in the course of the sixteenth century.

Furthermore, Heynric was to receive all Jan's books in folio format, which allows us to speculate that Heynric was to follow in his uncle's

ende hosen dicta sinthis gemma vocabulorum Boetius de consolatione omnia dicta circa logicam et Alexandrum ende voert myn ander boecken ute (folium) [() in margine]"

³⁸ *IPLC*, nrs. 157, 171, 188, 190.

³⁹ *IPLC*, nrs. 2181–98. Nrs. 2181–6 are called *Gemma* rather than *Gemmula*.

⁴⁰ *IPLC*, 406–9, 414–5.

⁴¹ *IPLC*, nrs. 1323–1337.

intellectual footsteps. Whether this was as a student or as a schoolmaster we do not know.

The executors were supposed to deal with “the other books that remain in my bookcase that have come from master Enghebrecht or that belong to me” as they saw fit.⁴² This suggests that he kept the titles he inherited from Engelbert separate. He must therefore have had a far larger collection of books.

Among the few private libraries that we know from the city of Leiden, these two hold a respectable place.⁴³ Since the lists are incomplete, we may safely assume that both schoolmasters owned several dozens of books.

Now let us take a closer look at what they stand for. The first thing one notices is that the titles we can identify seem to point in the direction of a professional library. Engelbert was a priest and an *artes* graduate. His books more than confirm his clerical status. It is interesting that we find a number of titles that go beyond what might be expected of the ordinary, average priest. He owned several Bibles, Bible commentaries, works on moral theology and history, as well as a number of texts on canon law, which might suggest that he also studied some canon law at the University of Cologne.⁴⁴ His own works are not mentioned explicitly and there is no explicit mention of any popular devotional literature, or of any books for pleasure reading. These titles, if there were any at all, are hidden under the “*ceteros omnes suos libros*”. A second category clearly marked is the “*libros suos scholasticales*”. Though they were not mentioned by name, it turned out to be possible to speculate about some titles falling into this category. These he left purposefully to his successor Jan Gherytsz. We might say that what we can identify is part of a model library for a highly educated clergyman who chose the profession of schoolmaster.

⁴² “die ander boecken die daer bliven in myn boeckasse die van meester Enghebrecht sijn ghecomen of mij selver toebehoren”.

⁴³ Brinkman, *Dichten*, appendix 1, 293–303.

⁴⁴ In this respect the mentioning of a “doctor Fastardus” in *De arte dictandi*, vs. 978 (Coebergh van den Braak and Rummel (eds.), *Works*, 52), is very interesting. Most likely this is doctor Vastert Bareyt, professor of law at the University of Cologne 1437–1479, and well-known in Leiden. See the article by Van Luijk, ‘City Magistracy’. About the level of education of parish priests: Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, chapter 5, 135–212.

This professional orientation also seems to apply to the library of Jan Gherytsz, although specialist literature for the well-educated clergyman is almost absent. This is not surprising, as we have no evidence that Jan ever took orders. In this will there is strong emphasis on educational books, apart from the separate set of *libros scholasticales* he inherited from Engelbert. This way of building up a library, which in the first instance was clearly focussed on their profession, is a distinct characteristic of the early period of the printing press. Another feature that is indicative of this period is the relative prominence of older texts. The division between 'classics' and contemporary authors is somewhat unbalanced. Most books are 'classical' or real medieval works. The few contemporary works relate directly to their profession.⁴⁵

Still, there are some titles that were relatively recent. For Engelbert, the works of Antoninus Florentinus can be called contemporary. These were not finished until 1440, which was just about the time when Engelbert returned to Leiden a *magister artium*, and a decade or so before he started writing schoolbooks himself. If the *dictionarium* was in fact the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* by Johannes Crastonus, we are dealing with a relatively recent dictionary. This might hint at an interest in and acquaintance with Greek, which is comparatively early for scholars in Holland. Similarly, Jan Gherytsz owned a commentary by Johannes Synthen on the *doctrinale puerorum*. It clearly shows that Jan was also interested in recent developments in secondary education.

If we assume that apart from a Bible that was written on parchment, all books mentioned by Engelbert were in fact printed works, it would be clear that the printing press had made a definite impact. This seems even more likely for the more recent library owned by Jan. It is equally clear that printers in Holland could not always satisfy the—we may safely assume—comparatively small demand for this type of high literature in Latin. With the exception of some highly popular schoolbooks and best-sellers like Boethius' *De consolatione* or the *Aurea legenda*, quite a few books on the list were not even printed in the Netherlands before 1500. These titles had to be imported from other centres of culture and eager readers depended on booksellers for this.

⁴⁵ Chisman, *Lay Culture*, 66.

The titles which can be identified were almost exclusively in Latin. Both Engelbert and Jan obviously seemed to be very comfortable with reading Latin and in the specific case of Engelbert one might say that writing in Latin was certainly not beyond his capabilities. In the context of late-medieval Dutch culture we can count these two—but surely they were not alone in the city—among the intellectual elite of Leiden. Part of the picture painted by Pleij in a contribution about the intended audience of the early printing press in Holland, does not seem to hold ground in the light of what we have just seen. With the libraries of these two schoolmasters in mind, his portrayal of those involved in the ‘intellectual’ professions as “half-intellectuals . . . who have no or not enough mastery of Latin . . .”⁴⁶ seems unconvincing.

Schoolmasters and their place in late-medieval (Leiden) society

To what extent do these two schoolmasters and the parameters within which they operated in the city of Leiden resemble the wider educational situation in Holland at the time? Leiden had a relatively diversified system of education, something it shared with the other major cities in Holland. A parish school had probably existed since the thirteenth century. From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards the city government of Leiden asserted its right to be involved in matters of education and in 1358 the school effectively became the town school.⁴⁷ Henceforth the magistracy appointed schoolmasters. In the second half of the fifteenth century Leiden counted several schoolmasters within its walls. Engelbert himself, when in charge of the town school, worked with three other schoolmasters. Nor is it likely that they were the only ones. Repeatedly there were references to so-called *bijsholen*, private schools, whose headmasters had to pay hefty fines to the rector of the town school. Engelbert

⁴⁶ Pleij, ‘Drukpers’, 17. “. . . Dit nog bescheiden contingent aan stadsklerken, gerechtsdienaars, *schoolmeesters* [my italics: A.T.], gildenschrijvers, aangevuld met een enkele koopman, is het Latijn niet of onvoldoende meester maar is aangemoedigd om desalniettemin zelf de schepping te leren kennen en begrijpen, . . . Als *illitterati*, ongeletterden die wel kunnen lezen en schrijven, maar niet in het Latijn, worden zij op moderne wijze bediend . . .”

⁴⁷ Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*, 2.

himself was one at different stages in his career. In 1468, both Engelbert and his successor as headmaster of the town school, Ewout Jansz, who had studied in Paris, were granted the right to set up their private school.⁴⁸ Though their numbers might have been comparatively small (some five to ten schoolmasters active at any stage), these teachers dealt with considerable numbers. We have to reckon with several hundreds of children attending town and private schools in Leiden. It is clear that not all children finished school. Schoolmasters lost them every step of the way. At the highest level, which involved a thorough acquaintance with Latin, rhetoric and logic (the *trivium*), one might estimate that masters had to deal with several dozens.⁴⁹

For further education young men from Leiden were forced to travel outside the county. In the second half of the fifteenth century, every year on average a minimum of six to seven Leiden students would visit a university. At this stage Cologne with three to four students per year was still more popular than Louvain with two to three students enrolling per year, a situation that would change in the 1490s in favour of the Brabant *studium*.⁵⁰ Even beyond the education which these teachers could provide in the town school or in their private one, they could exert their influence in further education. They could act as guides to their pupils who wished to continue to study at a university. In this respect it is worth mentioning that Jan Gherytsz studied at the Bursa Corneliana in Cologne. Two of the executors of the will of Engelbert, Johannes Vinck, canon of the chapter of Saint Pancras and organist Wilhelmus Theodorici, had also studied at that same college. Considering the dates that they went there, one might suggest that this is more than a coincidence and Engelbert had a lot to do with their choice of university and college in his capacity as a headmaster, both of the town and of his private school.

When we take a closer look at the educational background of these two schoolmasters, we notice that they themselves were very much the cream of this system of education. Engelbert's degree of

⁴⁸ GAL, Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 382, f. 28r.

⁴⁹ These estimates are based on scattered evidence. See Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*, 17–8; Tervoort, 'Schoolmeesters', 71–74. See also situation in Gouda, Abels et al. (eds.), *Duizend jaar Gouda*, 161–162.

⁵⁰ Based on figures, as partly laid down in Tervoort, '*Iter italicum*', 67–9, 195–6, and Brand, *Macht*, appendix 23, 'Leidse studenten 1420–1510'.

magister artium certainly was no exception among schoolmasters. Although Post's statement that a schoolmaster was always a *magister artium* is by no means accurate, it is clear that a significant proportion of them, particularly those who held the position of headmaster, possessed the master's degree.⁵¹ The same goes for Jan Gherytsz, whose visit to and graduation at the University of Cologne does indicate a strong familiarity with the institution of the university. Both of them managed to get beyond the category of the *scholaris simplex*, students who left the *studium* of their choice after a year or two without any degree. This category represented a minimum of fifty per cent of the total student population at the late medieval universities of Northern Europe.⁵² On the whole these two fit the image of schoolmasters with a completed university education. In the fifteenth century schoolmasters were increasingly university educated. A sample of 155 schoolmasters showed that a minimum of fifty per cent of schoolmasters in four towns in Holland had enjoyed university education. Close to a quarter of them managed to receive a degree of *baccalaureus* or higher during their studies. Of those who held the position of headmaster, at least half possessed such a degree. This process would continue even more intensely in the sixteenth century.⁵³

Another interesting aspect is the relative proximity of these two schoolmasters to the clergy. Engelbert was a priest and although we have no evidence that he enjoyed any benefice, it is clear from his library that his interest in religious literature was substantial. Even in the case of Jan Gherytsz we can see this link with the clergy. Although he was not married, we have no concrete evidence that he had ever taken orders. If we look at their close friends and the executors of their respective wills, though, we notice that quite a few of them belonged to the clergy. This seems to have been a more general phenomenon in late-medieval cities of Holland. Though there were no explicit provisions in the statutes of town schools about the clerical status of the schoolmasters, there is evidence that the link between secondary education and the Church remained strong, both in formal and informal ways. In the formal sense, city and town

⁵¹ Post, *Scholen*, 119–21. For a critique see: Tervoort, 'Schoolmeesters', 33–42.

⁵² Schwinges, 'Student Education', 196–200.

⁵³ Tervoort, 'Schoolmeesters', 33–42.

schools did continue to function as the natural reservoir for choir-boys for the parish and collegiate churches to which most schools had been attached at some earlier stage in their history. The schoolmasters had an active role to play in this arrangement. Apart from this formal connection between schools and Church it seems that clerics did play a role in education in a more informal way. Clerics with only a small benefice would often opt for a job on the side as a schoolmaster, as the church was in close proximity, even from the point of view of location, to the school.⁵⁴ Furthermore, clerics still formed a considerable part of the students attending universities and bonds could grow through shared university visits. This seems to have been the case with Jan Gherytsz's relation to one of the executors of his will, canon (and later dean) Pieter Wiggersz, who enrolled together with Jan and graduated just two days before him.⁵⁵

From the life and works of Engelbert as well as from some of the books collected by both him and Jan, we can detect a certain curiosity for what was going to be called 'new learning', the *studia humanitatis*. The first tangible traces of this curiosity can be found in Engelbert's gratifying letter to his "facundissime preceptor", Johannes Tinctoris, from February 1441 ("And who, *per deos immortales*, could have walked tacitly through life, without praising your effective new theses, were he not entirely insane?"). Apart from informing his revered master about the—earlier mentioned—classical authors he had studied, Engelbert larded this letter with typical examples from Antiquity—the might of Hercules, the atrocity of Atreus, the piety of Aeneas, the eloquence of Cicero, whom he cites verbatim as well.⁵⁶ As we have seen, Engelbert paraphrases and quotes classical authors very frequently in his own works, indeed telling the reader to study 'the poets'. In his model letters he also explicitly uses examples from classical mythology such as Orestes and Arion.⁵⁷

There is no doubt that Engelbert acquired a certain reputation because of his works. The still youthful Erasmus must have thought highly of Engelbert when he wrote around 1489: "Mine eyes imbibed

⁵⁴ Tervoort, 'Schoolmeesters', 55.

⁵⁵ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, I, 330, 119; Leverland, *St. Pancras*, 278 and 304. For clergy as part of the student population, Zijlstra, *Geleerde Friesland*, 72–88; Oediger, *Bildung*, 66–7.

⁵⁶ Tewes, 'Frühhumanismus', 694–5.

⁵⁷ Coebergh van den Braak and Rummel (eds.), *Works*, 27, 42–3, 67.

your verses. Therein sparkles great hope for the oppressed Muse who—alas, oh shame!—lies miserably downtrodden all over the entire globe.”⁵⁸ Engelbert certainly knew Cornelius Aurelius of Gouda, a member of a circle of early humanists around Gouda. Erasmus even tried to contact him using Cornelius as an intermediate.⁵⁹ Stephanus Surigonus, an Italian humanist who travelled across the Alps, was full of praise for Engelbert’s literary achievements. His contacts with humanists in the Netherlands, his own writings, perhaps even his possible ownership of a Greek-Latin dictionary, indicate a relatively early—and recognized—interest in some of the educational aspects of the humanist programme.⁶⁰ It seems likely that some of this had rubbed off on his pupil and successor, Jan Gherytsz. A glimmer of this can be found in his copy of the commentary by Johannes Synthen on the *Doctrinale*.

This engagement with the *studia humanitatis* is a phenomenon which started to gain momentum in the last decades of the fifteenth century, but increased at an even more rapid pace in the first quarter of the sixteenth. Many cities and towns in the Northern Netherlands experienced what might be called a ‘humanist’ take-over in those crucial fifty years. The coming of Humanism to secondary schools in the Northern Netherlands is traditionally dated in 1483, when Alexander Hegius came to Deventer, although Bot stated that not even this important schoolmaster was as yet “a full-blooded lover of letters”.⁶¹ This early and most famous centre of humanist education in the Netherlands, St. Lebuin’s at Deventer, was to have numerous followers. Pupils of this school, a second generation often adorned with a university degree and proudly referring to themselves in Latin, took on the challenge of teaching in secondary schools all over the Northern Netherlands.⁶² Schoolboys in Leiden seem to have been in the fortunate position that they came into contact with this new

⁵⁸ “Hauserunt versus lumina nostra tuos. In quibus oppressae lucet spes multa Camenae, Quae misere toto, proh pudor, orbe iacet.”; Reedijk, *Poems*, 158; Erasmus, *Carmina* (ASD, I, 7), 309.

⁵⁹ *Opus epistolarum*, I, 118–20; for Cornelius Aurelius and the Gouda circle, see the article by Goudriaan in this volume.

⁶⁰ For Engelbert’s connection with Humanism, see n. 7 for a *status quaestionis*.

⁶¹ Bot, *Humanisme*, 30, and recently Bedeaux, *Hegius poeta*, 71, who states that Hegius cannot be called a “real humanist”.

⁶² Bot, *Humanisme*.

interest in a 'classical' education, this *passio docendi* in the persona of Engelbert at a relatively early stage in the history of Holland. The question arises whether the 'full-blooded humanists' of Erasmus' generation were in fact as 'revolutionary' as they themselves would have it or whether they also referred to and built on an already existing, albeit less ambitious, practice which held the *bonae litterae* in high esteem.⁶³

Both these schoolmasters were well settled in the city of Leiden. It is clear from their respective wills that they certainly had means of their own. Engelbert in particular seems to have been relatively well-off. He owned two houses and several plots of land in the vicinity of Leiden. Though Jan must have come from a relatively modest background, since he had to register as *pauper* in Cologne, he managed through his education and connections within the city to become a man of certain respectability, who certainly was not beyond means.⁶⁴ Both seem to have had good connections, which may well be due as much to their position as their personality. Certainly Engelbert, in his position of rector of the town school, did have close relations with the magistracy. Though not yet a salaried civil servant, the rector of the school—and to a certain extent this applied to his helpers as well—was a key figure within the intellectual heart of the city. As society grew ever more complex, the proper administration of cities and towns depended on skilled personnel and adequate educational facilities were indispensable for this. The increasing interest city governments took in schools—as to who governed them and taught at them—has to be partly viewed in this light.⁶⁵ In this sense schoolmasters are closely related to two other figures that together would come to form the intellectual centre of the city's administration, the *pensionaris* and the town physician.⁶⁶ When Engelbert decided

⁶³ In this context cf. Nauert, *Humanism*, 104–5, where he refers to Haneron and "... a simplified and more classical approach to the teaching of Latin grammar ...", that developed in the Netherlands, completely omitting Engelbert.

⁶⁴ Elsewhere I hope to elaborate on the wealth and connections of Engelbert Schut and Jan Gherytsz.

⁶⁵ Though wealth and status were still the deciding qualifications to be admitted to the magistracy, a university education became more and more popular with Leiden magistrates over the course of the fifteenth century. Brand, *Macht*, 267–71, where he also states that percentages mentioned are most definitely too low.

⁶⁶ In the second half of the fifteenth century the Leiden *pensionaris* was generally a law graduate. Kokken, 'Leidse pensionaris'; id., *Steden*, 171–91. See also the contribution of Van Luijk, 'City Magistracy' in this volume. Thorough general research

to found his own school, the bonds with the magistracy were not severed. Indeed, the extraordinary position he held among *bij-schoolmeesters* indicates that he could count on the lasting respect of the town government, something his successor Jan inherited when he took over in 1503.

These two schoolmasters also had close relations with representatives of another pool of learning in the city: the clergy, whether these were priests in the various churches and convents or the learned canons of Saint Pancras.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Engelbert was well acquainted with an important clergyman like Jacobus Hoeck of Leiden, doctor of theology, former rector of the University of Paris, both curate of Wassenaar and dean of the collegiate church of Saint Adrian in Naaldwijk, *and* a former pupil of Engelbert. Wessel Gansfort even tried to make use of his long-standing acquaintance with Engelbert to contact Hoeck, when the latter was unwilling to respond to Wessel's letters.⁶⁸ Clearly, schoolmasters held a position of importance within society, among the higher strata of the city bourgeoisie.

Conclusion

Generally, the information that can be gathered for late-medieval schoolmasters tends to be limited to fragments from administrative sources. The lists of books from their wills of these two and the writings of one of them gave us an additional insight into the intellectual life of these two representatives of a profession whose role in the dissemination of education and the tools of acquiring learning can hardly be overestimated. Their university education and graduation made them ideal, easily identifiable candidates for the position of schoolmaster. The commitment of these two to the spread of learning is obvious from their decades of teaching (and writing in Engelbert's case), as well as from the respect they earned from the

on town physicians in general is still lacking. For a general overview: Van Herwaarden, 'Medici'; Tervoort, '*Iter Italicum*', 299–303. For Leiden: De Boer, 'Leids medisch 'netwerk''. In the second half of the fifteenth century there were several *doctores medicinae* active in Leiden. Friendly communication from Rudolph Ladan, who is preparing a dissertation on the health care system in Leiden in this period.

⁶⁷ For the canons of the chapter of Saint Pancras, see: Leverland, *St. Pancras*, appendices.

⁶⁸ Gansfort, *Opera*, 865–871; Van Moolenbroek, 'Wessel', 6–7.

city government. What we know about the books they owned and read allows us to conclude that we are dealing with men at the very pinnacle of the intellectual pyramid of Leiden, perhaps even the modest vanguard of an intellectual movement that would soon achieve supremacy. They were well suited to hold the key position of schoolmaster in this diversified education system, contributing—as did hundreds of their colleagues elsewhere—to the comparatively high rate of literacy in the Netherlands and to the growing popularity of university education. Engelbert and Jan were representatives of an important professional group of educators who deserve thorough prosopographical research and in-depth analysis of their networks to further clarify their role in the dissemination of learning and its tools in the late-medieval Low Countries.

Our two protagonists showed that their mission of educating other people did not stop at the school door. Even in their wills they showed a willingness to preserve and to spread learning. Both Engelbert and Jan left their books with this distinct purpose, which could manifest itself in the continuation of education when Engelbert left all schoolbooks to Jan. At another level they both wanted to encourage learning and acquiring knowledge in a number of institutions, whether this was to enable the chaplains of Saint Peter's Church to have free access to the books left by Engelbert or even more ambitiously to donate a book "pro inchoacione librarie".

THE GOUDA CIRCLE OF HUMANISTS

Koen Goudriaan

In 1513 the obscure Gouda printer Allaerd Gauter produced a small collection of juvenile poems by Erasmus, edited by Reinier Snoy, under the title *Silva carminum* (Collection of songs).¹ The collection was completed by the *Prosopopoeia Hollandiae* (Personification of Holland), an early poem by Willem Hermansz, in which a personified county of Holland laments her misery during the civil war (1488–1492). Snoy added a prologue, in which he dwelt on the years spent by Erasmus as a regular canon in Steyn monastery (east of Gouda), in the company of his bosom friend Willem Hermansz, proudly called “our William from Gouda”.² Their poetry is applauded as a product of “that renowned land of Steyn”. This is a quotation from the letter to Henry of Bergen with which Erasmus introduced the *Sylva odorum*, a volume of early poetry by Willem Hermansz which he edited in 1497.³ The 1513 edition of Erasmus’ poetry probably was an initiative of Snoy, who had access to early work by Erasmus thanks to the fact that he served as a physician to the canons of Steyn.⁴ Evidently, Erasmus had not given his consent: later he felt obliged to publish an improved edition.⁵

The moment the *Silva carminum* appeared, Erasmus was world-famous, whereas Willem Hermansz was dead (he died in 1510). The publication of this small volume of poetry offers a convenient starting point for a short survey of the Gouda circle of early Dutch humanists, to which several other persons besides Erasmus and Willem Hermansz belonged. In 1970, Jozef IJsewijn portrayed this circle briefly, calling it the “small Gouda academy” and comparing it—

¹ Nijhoff and Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie* (hereafter: NK) nr. 871. The poems involved are the numbers 93–97 in the edition by Vredeveld in the *Collected Works of Erasmus* (hereafter: *CWE*) nr. 85); Reedijk, *Poems*, nrs. 14, 23–26.

² “Guillemus noster Goudanus”.

³ Paris, Marchant, 1497.

⁴ Gouda, ms. Librije nr. 924 ‘Nota’. Goudriaan, ‘Erasmiana’, 253.

⁵ Vredeveld, *CWE* 85, liii.

apart from its scale and importance—to the Florence Academy of Ficino and his associates.⁶ An academy needs a patron, however, and IJsewijn was clearly aware that the Gouda academy lacked one. In our sketch we intend to focus on the membership of the Gouda circle, on the relationships existing between the members of the group themselves and with the outside world, and on the institutions which supported their activities as literators. An effort will also be made to find some common characteristics of the work they produced. The ultimate goal is the location of the Gouda circle within the landscape of early Dutch humanism.

Our survey will not be exhaustive, for two reasons. The scale of this article does not allow an in-depth study of each and every piece of work produced by members of the group. And in most cases, such a treatment would be impossible due to lack of preliminary studies. Only Cornelius Aurelius received serious treatment so far in a monograph by Karin Tilmans focusing on his historical work.⁷ On Willem Hermansz, in a sense the most interesting member of the group, a comprehensive study is lacking.⁸ So necessarily the nature of the present study will be provisional.

Moreover, two limitations will be applied. First, Erasmus himself will be left out of account. He left Steyn monastery around 1493. Though he visited his native province several times in the ensuing years (1496, 1498, 1499, 1501), and though he was very much present in the minds of those who remained in Holland—as is made abundantly clear by Snoy's prologue to the *Silva carminum*—he never resumed his life as an Augustinian canon. Secondly, around 1521 the nature of early Gouda humanism changed considerably due to the appointment of Petrus Nannius as rector of the Latin School: humanism had matured, left the monastery and entered the streets of the city. We will end our survey at this important turning point.

⁶ IJsewijn, 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus', 380–381: *parvula academia Goudana*.

⁷ Tilmans, *Historiography*.

⁸ For Willem Hermansz, Tilmans' *Historiography* is very useful, too, as well as her article 'Hollandse kroniek'. A bibliographical survey is available for Reinier Snoy: De Graaf, *Doctor Reinerus Snoygoudanus*. On most members of the group, useful entries by C.G. van Leijenhorst are to be found in Bietenholz' *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. For the 'Gouda Erasmiana' see further on in this article.

The members of the group

The original nucleus of the Gouda circle was formed by Erasmus and his friends Willem Hermansz and Cornelius Aurelius. Willem Hermansz probably entered Steyn as a novice together with Erasmus in 1487.⁹ He remained a regular canon of Steyn all his life and restricted his sphere of action basically to Holland. Only in the summer of 1500 he stayed for a while at Tournehem Castle near Saint-Omer (Artois) on the invitation of Anna van Borssele, Lady of Veere. No other journeys outside Holland are known. Within the county, however, we find him at frequent intervals outside Steyn. At some time before summer 1492, in 1497 and again in 1501 Willem stayed in Haarlem, probably in the Augustinian convent north of the city. In 1501 he was visited in Haarlem by Erasmus, who tried in vain to induce him to learn Greek. After his departure from Steyn, Erasmus continued to exchange letters with his friends in Holland, though less frequently than in the early years around 1490. Erasmus still wrote a letter to Willem Hermansz in 1506. In 1508 and the beginning of 1509 Willem temporarily stayed in a monastery from which he was able to witness the occupation of nearby Weesp by the army of Charles of Guelders.¹⁰ He died in 1510.

Apart from Erasmus, Willem Hermansz was no doubt the most successful member of the Gouda circle. The publication of his *Sylva odorum* (Collection of odes) opened the door to the international republic of letters. But Willem does not appear to have been very active in exploiting his opportunities, as was observed repeatedly by Erasmus.¹¹ Most of the poems included in the *Sylva odorum* were reprinted, together with Erasmus' *De ratione studii* (On the method of study), in 1512 in an edition prepared by Adrianus Barlandus.¹² Smaller selections of poetry were reprinted in a more haphazard way.¹³ Apart from poetry, Willem Hermansz' oeuvre falls apart in

⁹ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, II, 184–185.

¹⁰ Willem Hermansz wrote about it in his *Olandie Getrieque bellum* of 1509: Tilmans, 'Hollandse kroniek', 175.

¹¹ Erasmus, *Ep.* 172 and 178.

¹² NK 863: Louvain, Martens, 1512. For Barlandus' involvement: Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, 34.

¹³ In: Murellius, *Versificatoriae artis rudimenta* (NK 1571: Deventer, c.1511); in the *Silva carminum* edited by Snoy in 1513; and in the *Passionis dominicae aurea carmina*, printed by the Brethren of the Common Life of Bois-le-Duc c.1525 (NK 2743).

three genres: letter-writing, history and the composition of prose fables. Part of his letters have been edited among those by Erasmus, whereas his correspondence with Cornelius Aurelius received a separate publication by Molhuysen.¹⁴ Among Willem's poetry, several pieces include contemporary political matter or are dedicated to people in power:¹⁵ thematically, these are connected to his historical activities. From at least the beginning of the 1500s¹⁶ he was involved in the composition of a chronicle on the Counts of Holland. It has not survived as such, but references to and borrowings from it are to be found in the works of Cornelius Aurelius, Reinier Snoy and others. Only a few fragments on the war between Guelders and Holland in the years 1505–1507 were printed under the title *Olandie Gebrieque bellum*.¹⁷ Perhaps Willem's greatest success was the prose version he made of the fables of both 'Aesop' and Avianus. His Aesop version was printed already during his lifetime, but the first extant edition (including both collections) dates from 1513: it forms part of a large collection of prose fables which was to be frequently reprinted under the title *Aesopus Dorpii*.¹⁸

Cornelius Aurelius (Cornelis Gerard), Willem Hermansz' elder cousin, was a regular canon, too.¹⁹ Unlike Willem, Aurelius never belonged to the monastery of Steyn. He started his monastic career in Saint Martin's Donk or Hemsdonk, a convent that was situated on a river dune in the vicinity of Schoonhoven but at the opposite bank of the river Lek. It was a filiation of the monastery of Mount-Saint-Michael's alias Den Hem, to the west of Schoonhoven on the north bank of the Lek. Both Den Hem and Hemsdonk belonged to the small Holland Chapter of Augustinian canons, to which also the better-known monastery of Steyn adhered. Soon, however, Aurelius moved to Hieronymusdal or Lopsen in the suburbs of Leiden. This, too, was a monastery of the order of Saint Augustine, but it belonged

¹⁴ Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius'.

¹⁵ Cf. below n. 66.

¹⁶ Cf. Erasmus, *Panegyricus* in: *Opera Omnia*, IV (Leiden 1703), 512d.

¹⁷ NK 1037 (Amsterdam, c.1517).

¹⁸ NK 2243: Louvain, Martens, 1513, cf. Thoen, 'Aesopus Dorpii', nr. 51. Willem was working on the *Apologi* in 1502, according to Erasmus, *Ep.* 172; contrary to Allen's opinion—followed by Daxhelet, *Barlandus*, 33—, these must have been the fables ascribed to Aesop. The Aesop collection was printed shortly after 1502 and again in 1512.

¹⁹ Tilmans, *Historiography*. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, II, 88–89.

to the much larger Chapter of Windesheim. In 1497–1498 Aurelius got the opportunity to visit Paris as member of a committee despatched by the Chapter of Windesheim to introduce a more strict observance in the abbey of Saint Victor in the French capital.²⁰ On that occasion he met important humanists, partly through Erasmus: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Judocus Clichthovius and the historian Robert Gaguin. The remainder of his long monastic career Cornelius spent exclusively in Holland, shifting at intervals between Lopsen and Hemsdonk. After Lopsen had been abolished in 1526, Cornelius moved to Eemstein near Dordrecht, where he died in 1531.

Of all the authors treated in this study, Aurelius was by far the most prolific.²¹ Three genres he cultivated in particular: poetry, epistolography and historiography. The exchange of poems and letters was his way of keeping contact with Erasmus, Willem Hermansz and other humanists. He himself probably valued his poetry most; it included an *Alphabetum redemptorum* (Alphabet of the redeemed) or *Cathemerinon*, a cyclus of poems on the saints after the model of the ancient Christian poet Prudentius, as well as a very extensive *Marias*, part of which only has survived. Notwithstanding several efforts to get his poetry printed, Aurelius met with little success.²² In compensation, in 1508 or 1509 the Emperor Maximilian, on visit in the castle of Liesveld near Schoonhoven and Hemsdonk, appointed him 'poet laureate' and sent him the poet's crown.²³ As has been plausibly argued by Tilmans, this honourable event gave fresh impetus to Aurelius' engagement, which had waned due to lack of recognition for his poetry. One work of Aurelius was successful, although it was published anonymously and on top of that in Dutch: his *Divisiiekroniek* was printed by the Leiden printer Jan Seversz in 1517²⁴ and later became exceptionally influential in Dutch historiography. The remaining part of his work has been handed down in manuscript only. Several autographs are known; some poetry is included in ms. Gouda Librije nr. 1323.

²⁰ Tilmans, *Historiography*, 30–40.

²¹ A full census of his works is to be found in Tilmans, *Historiography*, 342–361.

²² In 1523 some poems were printed in a collection of religious poetry edited by Alardus: *Passio domini nostri Iesu Christi* (NK 56; Amsterdam, Doen Pietersz, 1523). Tilmans, *Historiography*, 26; 74.

²³ Tilmans, *Historiography*, 43.

²⁴ NK 613.

In 1509 a bulky humanistic Latin grammar, the *Compendium latini ideomatis*, was produced by the press of the canons of Den Hem.²⁵ The author was a certain Martinus, who introduced himself as a Franciscan belonging to the Observant monastery in nearby Gouda. About him few other details are known. Apparently he not only belonged to the Gouda Franciscans, but he originated from that city, too. He may be identical with the guardian of the Franciscan monastery in Amsterdam who is mentioned in 1510.²⁶ No other humanistic work of Martinus' hands has come down to us. In his prologue, Martinus dedicates his *Compendium* to his brother Paulus, whom he addresses with the words "your blossoming youth".²⁷ This suggests that Martinus, too, might have been in his twenties rather than middle-aged when he conceived the work.

The *Compendium Martinianum* is preceded by two introductory letters, one of which was written by Aurelius. Aurelius also contributed two short poems, in which he admonishes the author to publish the work and the reader to buy it. In his letter, Aurelius takes care to conceal the fact that Martinus is his protégé. That such was their relationship is suggested, however, by several facts. Whereas Martinus was probably rather young when he composed his *Compendium*, Aurelius already was in his forties. Though not an inmate of Den Hem himself, Aurelius was connected with this monastery by personal ties: he had a brother, Jacobus, who was a canon of Den Hem.²⁸ So, Aurelius had easy access to Den Hem, especially in the years around 1509, when his poet's laurel was fresh. One of the topics discussed in the *Compendium Martinianum* is metre. The examples Martinus quotes in order to illustrate his exposition are all derived from Aurelius' poetry: to Martinus Aurelius must have been the model for imitation par excellence. This suggests that Aurelius had been his 'teacher'.

Two interesting canons of Steyn remain to be mentioned: Franciscus Theodoricus and Henricus Jacobi. Between the two of them, they

²⁵ NK 3503. Only one copy has been preserved: Royal Library Brussels, Inc. A 853. Brief discussions in De Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia saec. XVI*, 19–23; id., 'Vier minderbroeder-auteurs'.

²⁶ Van Heel, *Minderbroeders*, 78. It has been suggested that he is the same person as the Delft guardian who published a *Devoet boexken voer alle devote personen die gaerne sonder vegevier ten hemel comen souden* (NK 1497: Delft, Lettersnijder, c.1521), which deals mainly with indulgences. There is no entry in Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*.
²⁷ "floride adulescentie tue".

²⁸ Tilmans, *Historiography*, 13; Blonden, 'Archief', nr. 170.

are responsible for the transmission of a large part of our evidence for the Gouda group. Franciscus Theodoricus is the addressee of some very early letters by Erasmus; he is also mentioned by Willem Hermansz.²⁹ He resided in Steyn already in 1494, when Willem transmitted his greeting to Erasmus' new acquaintance Jacob Batt.³⁰ In 1505, Erasmus asked Franciscus to collect as many early letters from his hand as he could lay hold on.³¹ Franciscus is also reported to have been active as a writer of letters and poetry in his own right. To his Gouda compatriot Reinier Snoy he dedicated a volume of letters and one of poetry, which have not been preserved.³² At an unknown date after 1505 he was appointed prior to the monastery of Hemsdonk; so temporarily he has been Aurelius' superior. In 1512 he published the *Precatiumcule*, which will be discussed later. Franciscus died in 1513, still being prior of Hemsdonk.

Brother Henricus Jacobi of Leiden may be identical with the "dominus Henricus" mentioned in Erasmus' letter to Servatius Rogerus from 1514.³³ The earliest date at which Henricus Jacobi's presence in the monastery of Steyn can be established, is 1503.³⁴ According to the necrology of Steyn, he died in 1525.³⁵

Recently Henricus has been identified as the owner of hand 'A' in the Gouda Erasmiana manuscripts Librije nrs. 1323 and 1324; these manuscripts were written in the early 1520s. Together with a third manuscript, Tilburg UB II, 347, they constitute a coherent body of transmission.³⁶ That manuscript, formerly kept in the Provinciaal Genootschap in Bois-le-Duc, was identified by Karthon already in 1916 as the Scriverius manuscript used by the editors of

²⁹ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, III, 319. Erasmus, *Ep.* 10, 12 and 14, dated by Allen to 1488. Gouda Librije ms. 1323, f. 21; Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius', 68.

³⁰ Erasmus, *Ep.* 35. Later in that year Erasmus sent him letter 41. It has been suggested that he was the Franciscus who visited Erasmus in Courtebourne (*Ep.* 167 and 168), but there is no valid reason to think so.

³¹ Erasmus, *Ep.* 186.

³² Walvis, *Beschryving*, I, 244.

³³ Erasmus, *Ep.* 296 l. 229.

³⁴ The date of Ms. Hamburg Theol. 2173, which is also the manuscript which made the final identification possible: Klein, 'Once more', 43-44.

³⁵ Van Heel, 'Dodenlijst', 100; Klein, 'Once more', 44.

³⁶ Cf. the debate Klein, 'New light'; Goudriaan 'Gouda Erasmiana'; Klein, 'Once more'. For the Tilburg manuscript the reference is now Van de Ven, *Over Brabant geschreven*, 342-345. Henricus is not mentioned in Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*. The present author prepares a renewed analysis of these highly intriguing manuscripts.

the Leiden edition for early works of Erasmus which had not been printed before. Recently, it has been argued that it was copied in 1570 from a volume originating in the monastery of Steyn.³⁷ The materials contained in the three manuscripts are mutually supplementary, which makes it probable that Henricus Jacobi also composed the lost original of the Tilburg manuscript.

The most relevant parts of Henricus' collection are found in Gouda ms. 1323 and in the Tilburg manuscript. The first part of ms. 1323 is a miscellany of poetry, letters and historiographic fragments by Erasmus, Cornelius Aurelius, Willem Hermansz and other humanists.³⁸ The Tilburg manuscript contains a collection of 61 letters by Erasmus and his Gouda correspondents in two books, followed by some orations by Erasmus and early poetry by Erasmus and his Gouda fellows. Poetry that had been published before the 1520s, for example in the *Sylva odorum* (1497) and in the *Silva carminum* (1513), was not included in the manuscripts. Evidently, it was Henricus' intention to collect only those works that were not available in a printed version.

The obvious place to find this unedited material must have been Steyn monastery itself. The main argument for this hypothesis is the letter collection in Part One of the Tilburg manuscript. Containing almost all juvenile correspondence of Erasmus with his Gouda comrades, for which it is the sole primary source, it can be identified with the collection made by Franciscus Theodoricus in 1505–1506.³⁹ When he sent the letters to Erasmus—actually, we are not sure he did—Franciscus kept a copy for his own use, which he divided in two books. Perhaps he took it with him to Hemsdonk on becoming its prior. Anyhow, early in the 1520s Henricus Jacobi was able to retrieve Franciscus' collection and recopied it for his own use. Franciscus' and Henricus' manuscripts have gone lost, but they are

³⁷ Karthon, 'Erasmiaansch handschrift'. Goudriaan, 'Gouda Erasmiana', 248.

³⁸ An analysis was published by Allen in App. IX, pp. 609–613, of the first volume of the *Opus epistolarum* (1906); cf. also Goudriaan, 'Gouda Erasmiana', 251, n. 50. Selections from this manuscript were edited by Molhuysen, 'Cornelius Aurelius'; Hyma, *Youth*, 221–237; Reedijk, *Poems* nrs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 11, 97; and Allen, *Opus epistolarum*, nr. 27A.

³⁹ As early as 1906, before Karthon's identification of the Scriverius manuscript, Allen had realized that the letters published for the first time by Merula in 1607 and in the 1703 Leiden edition, represented somehow the collection made by Franciscus Theodoricus at Erasmus' request (*Ep.* 186).

represented by the 1570 copy made by the compositor of the Tilburg manuscript. But for the care taken for the literary heritage of Erasmus and his fellows by Franciscus Theodoricus and Henricus Jacobi, we would know next to nothing of this interesting episode of early humanism.

Besides these clerical participants, the Gouda group includes two members belonging to the laity: Reinier Snoy and Jacobus Mauricius. Snoy was not only the editor of the *Silva carminum*, but also a writer in his own right. Some of his works were printed.⁴⁰ As the son of a brewer, Snoy belonged to the Gouda patriciate, though not to its inner circle. He started his studies in the Faculty of Arts at Louvain and completed them in Bologna in 1505 with a doctorate in medicine.⁴¹ Soon afterwards he must have returned to his native city. In his 1506 letters to Jacobus Mauricius, Erasmus asked his correspondent to greet Snoy, which suggests that he was in Gouda by then.⁴² Snoy served his city, as an alderman in 1510, 1512 and 1518 and as a treasurer in 1520. Together with Willem Hermansz and Cornelius Aurelius he started a debate about the Batavian descent of the inhabitants of Holland around 1509–1510.⁴³ As has been stated already, he acted as physician to the canons of Steyn. He was the addressee of two volumes of poetry and letters by Franciscus Theodoricus. After the death of Willem Hermansz Snoy had his papers about the history of the county of Holland at his disposition.⁴⁴

Jacobus Mauricius studied at Louvain and Orléans and received a licentiate in civil and canon law.⁴⁵ In 1501 he returned to Gouda to become the city's pensionary. Possibly his acquaintance with Erasmus dates from the year 1500, when Erasmus spent some months in Orléans.⁴⁶ In any case, in 1503 and 1506 Erasmus sent several letters to Mauricius, in one of which he promised to undertake a tedious and useless task on his behalf.⁴⁷ Probably, Erasmus had

⁴⁰ De Graaf, *Doctor Reinerus Snoygoudanus*. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, III, 261–262; Van Eck in: Abels et al., *Duizend jaar*, 232–233.

⁴¹ Tervoort, *Iter italicum*, II, 183.

⁴² Erasmus, *Ep.* 190 and 202.

⁴³ Tilmans, *Historiography*, 254 ff.

⁴⁴ Erasmus, *Ep.* 458.

⁴⁵ Ridderikhoff, in: De Ridder-Symoens, Ridderikhoff and Illmer, *Lièvre des procureurs: Biographies*, I, 199–200. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, II, 410.

⁴⁶ Cf. Erasmus, *Ep.* 130–140.

⁴⁷ Erasmus, *Ep.* 176 (the tedious task), 190 and 202.

received some financial support from Jacobus and felt obliged to comply with his request. Erasmus was still greeting him in 1521.⁴⁸ Among all the persons involved in the 'Gouda circle', Jacobus came nearest to playing the part of a *maecenas*. No writings from his hand have been preserved. Obviously, he was well-to-do. In 1511 he became receiver of the taxes on behalf of the States of Holland in the Gouda region; from 1514 until his death in 1522 he was a member of the Council of Holland.

Several members of the Gouda circle cooperated in the production of a curious little work called *Precatiuncule in divinis missarum officiiis excitative* (Adhortatory little prayers to the mass). It was printed at the press of the Gouda Collatiebroeders (the local branch of the Brethren of the Common Life) in 1512.⁴⁹ This booklet was a Latin translation of the second book of the *Boexken van der missen*, a popular explanation of the mass, written in Dutch by an inmate of the Franciscan convent of Gouda, Gerrit van der Goude. The Dutch text was printed by the Collatiebroeders in 1506⁵⁰ and saw a whole range of reprints. The second book consists of a detailed explanation of the mass in thirty-three articles, each moment of the ritual being paralleled with a specific event in the Life of Christ and accompanied by a short prayer. The Latin translation was illustrated by a series of woodcuts.⁵¹ Its text had been prepared some years before by Franciscus Theodericus, who in 1512 was prior of Hemsdonk. As he tells in the prologue, he did this at the request of Jacobus Mauricius, whom he calls his *nepos*. That it was Mauricius who took the initiative, is confirmed in a letter of recommendation printed in front of the text. This letter was written by a "frater Henricus", who extols the booklet as a product of the "fertile land of Steyn". This suggests that he himself was a canon of Steyn, as Franciscus had been when he conceived the book. Probably, he is identical with brother Henricus Jacobi. The addressee of his letter is Reinier Snoy, who is called Franciscus' *consobrinus*. So, Franciscus had family ties with both Mauricius and Snoy.

Besides the people mentioned so far, at least a dozen persons more are known to have participated on the periphery of the Gouda circle.

⁴⁸ Erasmus, *Ep.* 1092 l. 15; 1188 l. 42.

⁴⁹ NK 1756.

⁵⁰ NK nr. 982. Cf. Mees, 'Notities'.

⁵¹ Mees, 'Notities'; Goudriaan, 'Latijnse misverklaring'.

They include Erasmus' brother Petrus Girardus, who is the addressee of several letters and poems by Erasmus and Willem Hermansz and later was remembered as a good poet himself;⁵² and Gualterus, a Gouda citizen who was praised by Erasmus because he was entirely steeped in literature.⁵³ Two successive priors of Steyn also played a part: the old Nicolaus Wernerus (†1504), who was not a humanist himself but protected Erasmus in the earliest phases of his career,⁵⁴ and Servatius Rogerus, the friend of Erasmus' youth, who later tried in vain to recall him to the monastery.⁵⁵ A detailed account of this outer circle is beyond the scope of this article, however.

If we restrict ourselves to the members of the inner circle, we are struck by the coherence of this group. They did not all live in the same place at the same moment but were distributed over several monasteries in the southern part of Holland, whereas some were laymen. This made epistolography—apart from its attractiveness for literary reasons—a practical necessity. But they are found cooperating with each other at frequent intervals and in shifting combinations. Moreover, we come across several family ties existing between them, though we cannot substantiate these in detail. All this is enough justification for considering them as a distinct group within early Dutch humanism.

Patronage

Humanist literary activities did not constitute a recognized occupation with which one could earn one's livelihood. Humanists were dependent on patronage by either institutions or private individuals. For most members of the Gouda circle the basic infrastructure was offered by the convent. This placed them in a predicament. As long as they remained 'at home', they had no shortage of the necessities of life. But already the extras they needed in order to write down their works were a different matter. Cornelius Aurelius makes this clear in his 1509 letter to Clichthovius, in which he excuses himself

⁵² Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, I, 441–442.

⁵³ *Sylva Odarum*, f. d2r–d3v; Erasmus, *Ep.* 13. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, I, 146–147.

⁵⁴ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, III, 431; Claes Warnerszoon.

⁵⁵ Erasmus, *Ep.* 296. Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, III, 167–168.

for not being able to return his liberality, “due to the poverty implied in his religious state”.⁵⁶ In the 1510s, when Aurelius appears to have plenty of paper and ink at his disposal, this probably was an advance payment in kind for his *Divisiiekroniek* by the printer Jan Seversz.⁵⁷ Two pieces of evidence confirm that for Willem, too, financial obstacles mattered. When he presented Alardus of Amsterdam with a copy of Erasmus’ paraphrase of Valla, Willem had to charge him for it.⁵⁸ According to the historian Jan van Naaldwijk, the publication of Willem’s chronicle was held up by the fact that he did not receive the remuneration he expected from the Council of Holland.⁵⁹

Financial problems must have grown really serious from the moment our Canons Regular—and the observant Franciscan, for that matter—wished to travel. As far as we can tell—apart from Erasmus—within the Gouda group Willem Hermansz was the only one who travelled independently from his monastic duties. Cornelius Aurelius visited Paris, but he did so as a delegate from the Chapter of Windesheim. We never find him outside the monastery, and the same is true for Franciscus Theodoricus. Willem Hermansz, on the other hand, spent the summer of 1500 in Tournehem castle, under the patronage of the Lady of Veere. Even during his stay in Haarlem, however, he was not as free as he would have liked, due to his monastic obligations.⁶⁰ In order to assemble material for his Holland chronicle, Willem travelled “to many a place, city, fortress, castle or village”, according to his fellow historian Jan van Naaldwijk.⁶¹ The evidence from the *Olandie Gebrieque bellum* confirms this. But even in this case, Willem’s prolonged stay in the vicinity of Weesp may have been prompted by some monastic task. The crucial fact is, however, that he was allowed to travel after all: in this respect, Willem profited from the leniency of Nicolaus Wernerus and Servatius Rogerus, the successive priors of the monastery of Steyn.

It is against this general background that the importance of patronage must be seen. The members of the circle did find some support in the city of Gouda. Erasmus himself, when still a young man, was

⁵⁶ *Compendium Martinianum*, f. a2v: “monasticam sancte religionis paupertatem”.

⁵⁷ As is suggested by Tilmans, *Historiography*, 55.

⁵⁸ Kölker, *Alardus*, 47–50 (letter to Crocus).

⁵⁹ Quoted in Tilmans, ‘Hollandse kroniek’, 173.

⁶⁰ Gouda, ms. Librije nr. 1323, f. 3; Molhuysen, ‘Cornelius Aurelius’, 62.

⁶¹ Quoted in Tilmans, ‘Hollandse kroniek’, 174, n. 7.

received hospitably by the prominent Heye family.⁶² In one of his letters he asks Willem Hermansz to give his regards to his father, to whom Erasmus says to owe much.⁶³ We cannot be sure that the support given by the Heye family and by Herman, Willem's father, included Erasmus' literary pursuits. This must have been the case, however, for the patronage extended by Reinier Snoy to Cornelius Aurelius: in 1524, in any case, Aurelius calls Snoy his true *Maecenas*.⁶⁴ More important, still, must have been the support given by Jacobus Mauricius.

Yet, the Gouda patriciate was not a very wealthy one,⁶⁵ nor was it in the habit of playing the role of literary patron. It is quite understandable that members of the Gouda circle tried to find protectors among the mighty, including the princely family. Occasional dedications to Archduke Philip the Fair in the case of Willem Hermansz,⁶⁶ and to Charles V in the case of Aurelius,⁶⁷ attest to it. Patronage on a regular basis did not ensue, however. The same may be said for the dedication of Willem's Aesopian fables to Floris van IJsselstein, for Aurelius' approach to this same nobleman at a point later in time, and for Aurelius' contacts with Jan van Heemstede.⁶⁸

One noble family group appears to have played a more durable role with respect to the Gouda circle: the Bergens and their associates, the Lords of Veere. Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai, was Erasmus' employer from 1493; it was in his service that Erasmus made acquaintance with Jacob Batt, who later brought him into contact with Anna van Borsssele, Lady of Veere. Anna was married to Philip of Burgundy, the son of Anthony of Burgundy, the Grand

⁶² Witness the *Oratio funebris in funere Bertae de Heyen*, in: *Opera omnia*, VIII (Leiden 1706) 551–559.

⁶³ Erasmus, *Ep.* 83 l. 136.

⁶⁴ Ms. Leiden UB, Vulc. 66, f. 131.

⁶⁵ Abels et al., *Duizend jaar*, 135–141.

⁶⁶ The poem *Philippo archiduci* in *Syba odarum*, f. d3v–d5r (reprint 1512; also ms. Librije nr. 1323, f. 59). Cf. also the poem in ms. Librije nr. 1323, f. 57v entitled *Ad duces Carolum et heroes aurei velleris*, which, to judge from its content, must in reality have been written for Philip in 1494.

⁶⁷ He dedicated to him his *Diadema imperatorum* and his *Opus palmarium*: Tilmans, *Historiography*, 54–55. Cf. also the *Apocalipsis*, dedicated to the 'Dutch' Pope Adrian VI.

⁶⁸ Fables: NK 2243 with Thoen, 'Aesopus Dorpii' nr. 5d. Aurelius and IJsselstein: ms. Leiden UB, Vulc. 66, f. 131–134. Aurelius and Heemstede: ms. Leiden UB, Vulc. 99b, f. 1v–5. More examples are discussed in Tilmans, *Historiography*.

Bastard. The couple had Tournehem castle as its residence, where their son Adolph of Burgundy was born. Philip died in 1498; shortly afterwards Batt introduced Erasmus first and then also Willem Hermansz to the Lady of Veere, who needed a good tutor for her son. As we have seen, in 1500 Willem spent some time in Tournehem. In 1509, Adolph of Burgundy, meanwhile Lord of Veere himself, married Anna of Bergen, Henry's niece. Later—probably already in 1513, but certainly in 1524 and 1533—we find Reinier Snoy at Adolph's court, as his physician and to find leisure in order to finish his *Psalterium Davidicum*. About the way Snoy got acquainted with Adolph, nothing in particular is known, but the fact that he acted as caretaker of Willem's literary heritage must have played a part in it.⁶⁹

For patronage, we can conclude, the humanists of the Gouda circle had to turn to mighty people in the world. The fact that most of them belonged to an order, was only of limited help. As far as Steyn monastery is concerned, its role as the repository of an important part of the literary output of the Gouda circle has been highlighted. But it lacked a prior favourably disposed to literary pursuits. Neither Nicolaus Wernerus nor Servatius Rogerus was a Henricus van Rees. It follows that we have to discard IJsewijn's qualification of the Gouda circle as a '(small) academy'.⁷⁰ Even in the case of the monastery of Aduard, the use of such a qualification may lead to wrong conclusions,⁷¹ the more so if it is applied to Steyn.

The Gouda humanists and the schools

The members of the Gouda circle are not only related to each other by their common background and their family ties, but also because of certain common characteristics of their literary output. One of these is its orientation towards use in the schools. This trait is most

⁶⁹ Bietenholz, *Contemporaries*, I, 129–134 (Bergen); 173–174 (Anna van Borssele); 223–225 (Burgundy). For the varying political alignments of the people mentioned see Tracy, *Politics of Erasmus*, 11–22; 106. Snoy in 1524: ms. Leiden UB, Vulc. 66, f. 131; Snoy in 1533: prologue of the *Psalterium Davidicum*.

⁷⁰ IJsewijn, 'Erasmus ex poeta theologus', 381. To be true, IJsewijn did not stress this qualification.

⁷¹ Cf. the article by Van Moolenbroek in this volume.

obvious, of course, in Martinus' *Compendium latini ideomatis*, which is conceived from beginning to end as a school grammar. It contains, moreover, an interesting passage about the "way in which one has to begin forming young boys".⁷² Martinus' pedagogical ideas start from the idea that the mind of pupils is *tabula rasa*, easily to be moulded by correct elementary teaching: a humanistic topos. His goal is here to give precepts for the correct pronunciation of Latin sounds. But this topic is preceded by some advice about the way boys may learn the alphabet. In this respect, Martinus explicitly adheres to the customs of "modern writers". The letters the pupils have to learn are those to be found in "our codices". Although he does not explicitly say so, evidently he is referring to the practice of monastic scriptoria. Elsewhere, too, the *Compendium* combines the wish to be of practical utility for the schools with a clerical orientation. In his introduction of rhetorical figures, for example, Martinus states that the *colores* he will treat are "honourable for theologians".⁷³ His treatment of the alphabet is followed by a set of rules for punctuation. This topic, the correct way of dividing large sentences in smaller units, is a standard part of the grammatical curriculum, but Martinus turns it into a highly interesting treatise on recitation, focused on the lectures of the canonical hours according to the practice of the diocese of Utrecht.

The school-oriented nature of the *Compendium* is in line with a general tendency to be observed in the production of the 'Gouda circle'. It started with Erasmus himself: among the first people he addressed with his work several schoolmasters occurred. In a letter to Aurelius he says to have sent specimens of his poetry to his own former teacher Hegius in Deventer and to Bartholomew of Cologne. Bartholomew was another ex-pupil of Hegius and was to make a career as rector of several Latin Schools, including the one at Alkmaar (1511–1513). Erasmus did not know him, but had read his work.⁷⁴ One of Erasmus' early poems is addressed to the Leiden schoolmaster Engelbert Schut; when he did not react, Erasmus asked Aurelius to pass on his message.⁷⁵

⁷² d 6–e 1v: "De modo quo primo informandi sunt pueri".

⁷³ I 3: "colores rhetoricales theologis honorabiles".

⁷⁴ Erasmus, *Ep.* 28.

⁷⁵ Ms. Librije 1323, f. 8; Hyma, *Youth*, 221–222; Reedijk, *Poems*, nr. 11; Vredeveld, *CWE* 85, nr. 98. On Schut see the article by Tervoort in this volume.

Aurelius dedicated the first decad of his long poem on the Virgin (*Mariad*) to the pupils of Saint Lebuin's school at Deventer, where he once had enjoyed his education. He used his brother Jacobus as intermediary to present the headmaster Jacob Faber (another pupil of Hegius) with a copy. As has been rightly remarked by Tilmans, a side-effect Aurelius must have hoped for was that the poem would be printed at Pafraet's press, but this did not come true.⁷⁶ Aurelius' religious poetry was the source of most examples adduced by Martinus in his *Compendium* to illustrate details of Latin metre.

Willem Hermansz' Odes did appear in print, and the way they were presented is highly significant: Erasmus provided every poem with an introduction, containing a summary of its content and an indication of the Horatian metre applied in it. Here, too, the educational purpose cannot be overlooked. When Barlandus edited Erasmus' *De ratione studii*, a guide for the study of the classical authors composed by Erasmus in the time he was engaged in teaching in Paris (1496–1498), he appended most of the poems from the *Sylva Odarum* to it, quite naturally.⁷⁷

Printing schoolbooks was a favourite activity of the Gouda press, too, which in the years around 1500 was a clerical institution. The Collatiebroeders printed an impressive series of Donatuses, but they also produced a curious songbook for the diocese of Utrecht to the intention of schoolboys, actually a collection of antiphones for the canonical hours, accompanied by music notes.⁷⁸ Though the texts contained in this *Cantuale* are traditional, it reflects a concern for providing the schools with good study material such as we find also in Martinus' *Compendium*. The production of Franciscus Theodoricus' *Precatiuncule*, illustrated by woodcuts may be another outcome of this concern.

Evidently, fables were excellent study material for the schools. It is confirmed by the large number of reprints of the *Aesopus Dorpii*, in which the fables adapted by Willem Hermansz continued to form

⁷⁶ Tilmans, *Historiography*, 13; 25–26.

⁷⁷ NK 863: Louvain, Martens, 24 Sept. 1512. The *De ratione studii* has been re-edited by Margolin in the new Amsterdam edition of Erasmus' works, I-2, 83–109; translation by B. McGregor in *CWE* 24, 661–191.

⁷⁸ NK 516: *Cantuale Traiectensis dioecesis scholasticis pueris*. A reprint by Gauter dates from 1517: NK 517.

the basic element. In the dedicatory letter to three Flemish school-teachers included by Dorpius in his edition, he states that the fables are an excellent means for the *scholasticuli* to acquire fluency of Latin before they enter the College of the Lily (part of the University of Louvain).

As far as we know, none of the humanists under discussion was engaged in teaching at the Latin School.⁷⁹ Moreover, the bulk of their activities antedates the reform of the Gouda Latin School. That nevertheless so much of their literary production is oriented towards school life, is not so curious as it may appear at first sight. From the start, the humanists of the Gouda circle, like so many elsewhere, combined a plea for the renewal of (Latin) literature with complaints about the bad state of contemporary school education. It is the subject of the *Conflictus Thaliae et Barbariei* (Battle of the Muse and Barbarism), in which the Zwolle and the Deventer Latin School are depicted as specimens of barbarism and renewal in education, respectively.⁸⁰ And the main target of Erasmus' *Antibarbari* are the schoolmasters, as has recently been argued by Ebels-Hoving.⁸¹ So it is quite logical that our humanists should try to offer school materials with which to replace the textbooks they considered as outdated. Erasmus' *Antibarbari*, the first work he wrote outside the monastery, has been classified as thoroughly civic-humanistic in tone. The clerical status of some of the participants in this dialogue recedes into the background; full attention is given to the need of providing a good education for the youth in the cities.⁸²

That the new humanistic school literature meanwhile is thoroughly Christian and sometimes even liturgical in content, makes perfect sense. The city is a Christian community, centering around the celebrations in the parish church. A good education should prepare for city life as life in a Christian community. Everywhere the Latin Schools were pivotal in keeping the city's celebrations going: its pupils used to constitute the personnel of the church choirs. A fragment of the account of the Gouda Latin School for the years 1521–1522 is

⁷⁹ With the exception of Jacobus, Cornelius Aurelius' brother: Tilmans, *Historiography*, 13.

⁸⁰ Vredeveld, *CWE* 86, 711–716.

⁸¹ Ebels-Hoving, 'Erasmus in de aanval', 179.

⁸² *Ibid.* 175–176.

a good case in point: the majority of the income entries concern liturgical services in which the pupils were involved.⁸³

Renewal of the bonae litterae

Fundamentally, it was the ideal of renewing the *bonae litterae* that bound the members of the Gouda circle together. The adherence to this ideal expressed itself mainly in three literary genres: epistolography, poetry and history. Willem Hermansz' fable adaptations, though not very important from the point of view of size, deserve separate mention because of the influence they exerted. Martinus' *Compendium*, a Latin grammar, is a *rara avis* within Gouda humanistic production, but the extensive treatment of style in its fourth part reflects the shared interest in letter-writing and in poetry (though not in historiography).

The *Compendium* illustrates another point that is true for much of the production of the Gouda *literati*. Renewal it brought, but in small steps only and with admixture of much that was traditional. Martinus' grammar was such a combination of the old and the new. It shows the influence of Valla's *Elegantiae*, but many of the rhetorical precepts offered in it are still derived from the medieval *ars dictaminis*.⁸⁴ Franciscus Theodoricus' *Precatiuncule* were an exercise in writing pure, clear and elegant Latin, but the author did nothing to modify the spirituality with which Gerrit van der Goude had invested the Dutch original: what we meet is traditional late medieval devotion towards Christ's passion.⁸⁵

The case is less clear for poetry. Willem wrote several poems which were more secular in character: they had friendship, mourning about the deceased and the proper conduct of princes as their topics. Aurelius on the other hand, who was the most prolific poet, wrote mainly about religious themes, including such items as the Immaculate Conception. His ideal was to emulate Baptista Mantuanus, the Christian Virgil. Franciscus Theodoricus' poetry is completely lost,

⁸³ Streekarchief Hollands Midden in Gouda, Oudarchief, inv. nr. 2798; Kesper, 'Gymnasium'.

⁸⁴ On the *Compendium* a more detailed treatment is in preparation.

⁸⁵ Goudriaan, 'Latijnse misverklaring'.

but no doubt it was not less religious in tone than Aurelius'. The same is true even for part of Willem's poetry.

Willem's fable adaptations, though welcomed by sixteenth-century educators as a positive contribution to the modernization of school literature, are another example of the 'law of the small steps'. The Aesop fables he rewrote were not the Greek ones by Aesop himself. As we saw, Erasmus to his regret did not succeed in inducing Willem to learn Greek. When he received news about Willem's fables, the first thing he did was exactly to ask his copy of the Greek Aesop back.⁸⁶ Instead, Willem made a prose adaptation of the medieval *Aesopus moralisatus*, which was in Latin verse. Avianus' fables, too, had for centuries circulated in verse after the medieval fashion.

Finally, not even the historiographical production was as renewing as one should expect. Willem's *Olandie Gelrieque bellum*, a short monograph about a contemporary topic, was 'modern' in a sense. But recent scholarship, especially by Ebels-Hoving and Tilmans, has made clear the enormous debt of the work of Aurelius and Snoy to their medieval predecessors, both in the materials they borrowed and in the overall conception of their work (and the same will have been true of Willem Hermansz).⁸⁷ Here, too, it was primarily in the rhetorical style that renewal expressed itself.

In sum, we observe that the degree of modernization in the works of the Gouda circle was often marginal. This must influence our judgment when it comes to evaluating their contribution. But rather than to base such a judgment on an appreciation of the different works according to modern taste, it is preferable to measure their importance against the impact they made on the contemporary world. It is not difficult to discern a clear hierarchy, in that respect. Some works were hardly valued at all: they were not printed during the lifetime of its authors, or at least—as in the case of Martinus' *Compendium* and Franciscus' *Precatiuncule*—never reprinted. According to this standard, the most important member of the group was without doubt Willem Hermansz, whose Odes were published already in 1497 and whose fable collection became a bestseller. Somewhere in between we find Cornelius Aurelius. Though his work did not

⁸⁶ Erasmus, *Ep.* 172.

⁸⁷ The fundamental article is Ebels-Hoving, 'Nederlandse Geschiedschrijving'; cf. also Tilmans, *Historiography*, 141–198.

meet with the same success as Willem's, he was respected by scholars even in Louvain and certainly so in Holland. Historiography is a somewhat different matter. Aurelius' *Divisiiekroniek* was printed, though anonymously. But most of Willem Hermansz' work was not given in print, and the same is true for Snoy's.⁸⁸ All three, however, were valued much later as important forerunners by a generation of scholars that set to work writing Holland's history after the Revolt against Spain had been successful. The fact that, among the three of them, they had formulated the Hollandocentric version of the Batavian myth, was an important factor in this late success.

Willem Hermansz' death marks a double change in character of the Gouda group. Before 1510 the members of the group had experimented with work of their own in different genres. In the 1510s, reception became more important; the role of the Gouda group turned into a more passive one. Willem's untimely death triggered attention to his work by such scholars as Barlandus, Dorpius and Alardus, and within the Gouda group by Snoy. As for Erasmus, after the publication of his *Praise of Folly* in 1511 his fame was finally established. From now on the Gouda group seems more and more to consider following Erasmus' doings, assembling his publications, studying them and making them known in their own environment as its main task.

The years around 1510 saw another transition, as well. So far, the monastic element had prevailed. From Willem's death onwards, it was Reinier Snoy who took the lead, though gradually, because until far in the 1520s at least Cornelius Aurelius still remained productive. Snoy's increasing prominence was a harbinger of the definitive shift to laicism which Gouda humanism underwent in the years after 1520. The reform of the Gouda Latin School was the decisive turning point. It is deplorable that due to lack of archival evidence we cannot tell how it came about. An epitaph written by Petrus Nannius and engraved in a copper plate in Saint John's Church credits Jan Jansz Rentmeester, member of the magistrate, with the "founding" of the school, but how important he really was, we cannot tell.⁸⁹ It is a fair guess that Snoy was involved in one way or another.

⁸⁸ The *Rerum Batavicarum libri tredecim* were printed only in 1620.

⁸⁹ Van Eck in: Abels et al., *Duizend jaar*, 234–235.

It would be a mistake, however, to infer that the tone of Gouda humanism shifted from being exclusively religious into becoming more profane. Actually, it was rather the reverse. True, in its early phase the study of the humanities in the Gouda circle was deeply embedded in monasticism. Observance of the rule was strict in Steyn and in the other monasteries of the Chapters of Holland and Windesheim. The one clerical member of the Gouda group who was not a regular canon, Martinus, belonged to the observant Franciscan monastery. But the connection between observance and humanism is not straightforward. Taking one's religious duties seriously may have had a positive effect on the propensity to study, by driving out idleness and curbing undue attention to worldly affairs. But observance itself was not a topic in the writings of the Gouda humanists. Inasmuch as they treated religious themes, like so much of Aurelius' poetry, they reflected standard late-medieval values and views. Monasticism as such was neither defended explicitly nor questioned (apart from Erasmus!). Interestingly, much of the literary production of the Gouda humanists—historiography, but also poetry—may be classified as 'civic humanism': it fostered patriotism, rallied people in Holland around ancestral virtues or instructed princes to promote peace and the well-being of their subjects. The one institution whose reformation is aspired to is the city's Latin School.

Snoy's voluminous *Rerum Batavicarum libri XIII* still belong to this 'civic' phase of Gouda humanism. But in the later works of this family father and city magistrate, religious topics predominate. Now—as has been argued recently—they appear to be really "Erasmian".⁹⁰ It is also in an urban setting that Gouda humanism shows its most purely religious face. The stained glass windows in the parish church of Saint John's (1552–1570) recount the message of John the Baptist as forerunner of Christ. But their real theme is Christ as the True Master and the fulfilment of Scripture:⁹¹ this is biblical humanism, in the end.

⁹⁰ Van Eck in: Abels et al., *Duizend jaar*, 233.

⁹¹ Van Eck in: Abels et al., *Duizend jaar*, 253–264.

Epilogue

Although it was not the first to introduce humanism into the county of Holland, the 'Gouda circle' was the earliest concentration of humanistic studies in this province. Before 1520 it would be followed by a second one, the 'Alkmaar-Egmond circle'. Apart from Erasmus, whose career soon took European dimensions, Gouda humanism was rather introverted. It caught the attention, however, of such scholars as Alardus, Dorpius and Barlandus, who made the results of Gouda humanism known in that great centre of learning that was Louvain. A peculiar characteristic of Gouda humanism in its early phase was its monastic setting. The infrastructure offered by the monasteries involved was sufficient to keep the *litterati* alive, but hardly to enable them to do their job properly. For patronage, therefore, they had to turn to the world outside the cloister, more precisely to noble families, because Holland's urban patriciate was too modest to be of much use to them. Steyn monastery was not an academy. Invaluable, however, was its role as repository of much of the Gouda humanists' literary output.

Until 1520 the humanism of the 'Gouda circle' focused first and foremost on matters of style. From the point of view of content it was definitely Christian, as may be expected from a group of literators who mostly belonged to the convent. But it was not 'biblical' or 'Christian humanism' in the sense usually attached to this term when connected with Erasmus.⁹² The Gouda humanists did not apply the new critical philological method to Scripture nor to any other fundamental text of Christianity, although they were aware of the controversy raised by this method. Nor did they exhibit much interest in the renewal of theology. None of them made a notable contribution to 'critical', spiritualizing theology after the example of John Pupper of Goch and Wessel Gansfort.⁹³ Apart from Aurelius, who got into trouble in the years after 1520 because his propaganda for reformation of the Church made him suspect of Lutheran sympathies, members of the 'Gouda circle' stayed aloof from the more controversial corollaries of humanism.

⁹² Nauert, *Humanism*, 143-160.

⁹³ Weiler, 'Dutch brethren of the Common Life', 309-322. Cf. in this volume the article by Van Moolenbroek on Wessel Gansfort. The later work of Reinier Snoy is left out of account.

This does not disqualify them as humanists. As its 'core business' humanism considered the production of Latin texts modelled linguistically and stylistically on the *usus* of the classical Latin authors. In order to achieve that end, the teaching of Latin had to be reformed. This entailed the repudiation of late-medieval grammar with its approach of the Latin language by logical categories and their replacement by the genre of *elegantiae*. This is the aspect of humanism which is reflected, however imperfectly, in Martinus' *Compendium*; it also underlies much of the work of Willem Hermansz and his fellows. Of course, renewal of style was not an end in itself. The *bonae litterae* were the key to real, that is: practical, wisdom and to humanity. Correct, clear and elegant language was considered to be a necessary precondition for correct thinking and for meaningful and persuasive communication: it was rhetoric, whose practical usefulness was stressed by the humanists. Ideally, eloquence was not a matter of style only but a tool in the hands of intellectual and spiritual leaders whose duty it was to give moral guidance to those entrusted to their care. In the last resort, the *bonae litterae* were as much an ethical as an aesthetic ideal.

With the possible exception of Willem Hermansz, the Gouda circle counted only second- and third-rate humanists and in addition a great number of sympathizers who did not produce anything themselves. Most of the production did not transcend the provincial level. But it is exactly this provincial humanism that enables us to evaluate the impact of the movement, which, in a few decades, succeeded in profoundly modifying culture in all of Western Europe. Therefore, it appeared worthwhile to pay attention to the Gouda group. Its members easily remain in the dark due to the brilliance of their fellow-at-a-distance. But they deserve to step out of Erasmus' shadow and to receive attention in their own right.

BETWEEN AEA AND GOLGOTHA.
THE EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP
OF MATTHIJS DE CASTELEIN (c.1485–1550)

Bart Ramakers

There are two ways of approaching the question of the level of knowledge and education of rhetoricians. The first is of an individual, biographical and bibliographical nature; it entails the study of the author's writings, literary and otherwise, and of any archival documentation relating to his life. The second approach has a more institutional and collective (possibly also prosopographic) character and focuses on the organizations—the chambers of rhetoric—within which a particular author developed his literary activities. Points of particular interest in this approach would be the organization and composition of the chambers and the activities (literary as well as non-literary) of all its members, not just of those engaged in writing poetry. It would give pride of place to archival information—rules and regulations, membership lists and administrative sources in the widest sense—rather than focus on poetry and drama. The literary historian, who regards the rhetorician primarily as a man of letters and will, first and foremost, treat his literary works as source material, will opt for the first approach. The historian, feeling more at home with archival than with literary documents, will prefer the second. Obviously a combination is possible. More than ever before modern literary historians tend to use contextual methods and venture into the field of the historian. Conversely, historians no longer hesitate to incorporate literary texts in their research.¹

In this contribution, written by a literary historian, the question formulated above will be approached by using individual, biographical and bibliographical material, although the methods of the

¹ Within the joint Flemish-Netherlandish project *Rederijkers. Conformisten en rebellen. Literatuur, cultuur en stedelijke netwerken (1400–1650)* (Rhetoricians. Conformists and Rebels. Literature, culture and urban networks (1400–1650)) at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the Universiteit Gent (1998–2001) both approaches were used. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens was one of the initiators of the project.

historians will not be eschewed. The author in question is Matthijs de Castelein, priest and rhetorician from the eastern Flemish city of Oudenaarde, not far from Ghent. He was born around 1485 and died in 1550. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century he was *factor*, that is principal poet and playwright, of two of the city's most important chambers of rhetoric: *Pax Vobis* and *De Kersauwe* (The Daisy). In that capacity he produced plays and poems to add lustre to a variety of ecclesiastical and secular festivities. He may, for that reason, be regarded as a town poet. In the city's accounts numerous reimbursements and rewards for his literary and other achievements have been recorded. As a priest and notary De Castelein also worked as a freelance scribe for the magistracy. In addition he organized and supervised the annual Corpus Christi procession, one of the most impressive *ommegangen* in the Low Countries.² As the chaplain of Our Lady's Church in the part of the city called Pamele he was active as a pastor and officiant. He probably lived in Oudenaarde all his life, with—surprisingly—a partner and their child.

The archives have yielded a considerable amount of information about De Castelein's life and works.³ His not inconsiderable literary estate has been the subject of several studies.⁴ The picture that emerges is that of a man embodying the transition between medieval tradition and humanistic innovation, in both literary and ideological respects. In his writings he fluctuates between traditional Christian subjects—Christ's passion, the devotion to Mary and the saints—and classical-humanistic philosophy, based on classical history and mythology. He may be said to have moved between Aea and Golgotha, two places (from the *Odyssee* and the Bible) which he 'visits' in his work. The first question which his work raises concerns the level of his own and his environment's education and learning, especially within the chambers for which his works were produced. Secondly one may ask whether—and if so, to what extent—De Casteleijn raised the general level of education by his texts, and whether he also played a role as a 'teacher' outside the chamber, among the urban population. If this is found to be the case, it would tend to

² Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*.

³ See, for example, Iansen, 'Speurtocht'; Castelain, 'Genealogische gegevens'. See also: Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 126–127 and references cited there.

⁴ Iansen, *Verkenningen*; Coigneau, 'Matthijs de Castelein' and references cited there.

strengthen the impression that he functioned as an intermediary in Oudenaarde between a more and a less educated public.⁵ The questions raised here will be answered by reference to a number of case studies from De Castelein's work. First, however, the relevance of these questions for the appreciation of rhetorician literature by literary historians will be addressed.

Literary history

An inquiry into the educational standard and the depth of knowledge of the rhetoricians needs to take into account prevailing prejudices, as such investigations have in the past contributed considerably to the formulation of adverse opinions of the literary and aesthetic qualities of rhetorician texts. Scholars of Renaissance literature, still generally considered to follow rhetorician literature, use as a defining criterion the idea of the poet as *poeta doctus*, a learned, classically schooled author who was capable of translating, imitating and emulating classical texts. The threefold accomplishment of *translatio-imitatio-emulatio* was made with greater ease, it was thought, by the 'real' Renaissance poets than by the rhetoricians. It was even accepted as a fact that the latter rarely managed to reach the intellectual level necessary for imitating or emulating, while the quality of their translations was considered to be far inferior to that of their successors. However, this means that for humanistic or Renaissance literature a criterion is used which is based on formal imitation. This criterion was also applied by Renaissance poets themselves, among them quite a number of critics of the rhetoricians. In their eyes the measure of literary quality was the poet's ability to imitate classical genres and metres, write a tragedy in five acts or compose a Horatian ode in which classical material, themes and motifs were used. In addition, and by analogy of the use of a pure Latin, the Dutch used had to be immaculate.

The rhetoricians hardly ever met these standards, if at all. Not until the second half of the sixteenth century would the chambers themselves and groups associated with them produce poets writing

⁵ For the significance of such intermediaries, see: Vovelle, 'Les intermédiaires culturels'.

'modern' literature in the sense defined above. However, considering that some of these poets had begun their literary careers as rhetoricians, that some even remained members of a chamber of rhetoric and that, at the same time as writing in the 'new' genres, a few did not abandon the 'old', there is evidence that the chambers had stimulated the interest in classical antiquity and had been—and to some extent remained—a suitable environment to cultivate the rebirth of the classics.

If instead of formal standards for gauging the humanistic or Renaissance level of sixteenth-century texts, the content of the work and the extent to which it evinces a general interest in the literature and culture of Antiquity are taken into consideration, the rhetoricians are found to deserve much more appreciation.⁶ Research has shown that several rhetoricians were well acquainted with the classics: they were familiar with the works of classical authors and with classical historiography and mythography not just from translations, but also from reading editions in Latin. In addition they knew the works of contemporary humanistic authors like Erasmus, whose ideas they incorporated in their plays and poems.⁷ Occasionally Erasmus' works were translated or adapted by the rhetoricians.

Chambers of rhetoric were referred to in the sixteenth century as schools of rhetoric. In spite of this designation neither scholars interested in the rhetoricians nor those concerned with the history of education have, until quite recently, asked questions suggested by the use of the word 'school'. To what extent may these institutions be considered as educational and learned institutions in the humanistic sense? Is a comparison possible with the literary or scholarly associations which existed at that time outside the Low Countries and were introduced there at a later time?⁸ Although it was proposed relatively recently that the chambers of rhetoric were civilizing institutions, it was also assumed that the pedagogical efforts involved were largely limited to attempts at improving morals or inculcating bourgeois values.⁹ As *lieux du savoir* the chambers of rhetoric have never been seriously studied—probably for the simple reason that

⁶ Ramakers, 'Bruegel en de rederijkers'.

⁷ Degroote, 'Erasmus en de rederijkers'.

⁸ A first move in this direction is made by Van Dixhoorn, 'In een traditie gevangen?'. See also his contribution in this volume.

⁹ Pleij, *Sneeuwpoppen*, 183–191.

the rhetoricians themselves, their literature and their activities in their chambers have generally been dismissed by literary historians as non-scholarly or at best semi-scholarly.

The case of De Castelein

It is not clear what the influence of De Castelein's position as factor may have been on the literary life in his chamber. It may be assumed that he had certain duties during the regularly held—usually weekly—meetings in the Oudenaarde chamber. We know from the regulations of chambers of rhetoric elsewhere that at such meetings poems were recited and prizes awarded. The factor may have acted as an artistic arbiter on such occasions, a literary master capable of judging the artistic merits of his fellow rhetoricians' poems on the basis of his own literary achievements. However, was he also a master in the pedagogical sense? In other words: did De Castelein act as the instructor of the Oudenaarde rhetoricians? Did he teach them in the art of poetry during chamber meetings or on other occasions, giving them assignments to do there or at home which were corrected in writing or orally after having been read or recited? We do not know.

The fact that, despite the uncertainty about his educational duties, De Castelein is considered in literary histories as the teacher of "ancommers ende beminders" (beginning and advanced students) of poetry is due to the posthumous publication in 1555 of his *De Const van Rhetoriken* (The Art of Rhetoric). In this manual De Castelein offered his readers "a unique model and an instructive example, not only of all sorts and forms of poetry, but of all things appertaining to the noble art of poetry".¹⁰ Whether on publication *De Const* was used as a textbook for group use remains a mystery. Similarly it is impossible to say whether the book is based on the Oudenaarde factor's experiences when teaching local rhetoricians. However, it may safely be assumed that *De Const* served its purpose as a manual or reference book for the poetic practice of many rhetoricians, whether

¹⁰ De Castelein, *Const*, title page: "een zonderlijgh Exemplaar ende leerende Voorbeeld; niet alleen in allen Soorten en Sneden van dichte, nemaer ooc, in alles dat der Edelder Const van Poë sien competeert ende ancleeft".

used individually or collectively. After all, it was the only available handbook of its kind and was reprinted several times, until well into the seventeenth century. It may also be taken for granted that De Castelein did not hide his knowledge of rhyme, metre and everything 'appertaining' to poetry under a bushel during the many years of his activities as factor.

If his instruction and advice did not help his fellow rhetoricians reach the top of Mount Parnassus, De Castelein's own example as a practising poet certainly did. His works were well-known among the city's population on account of its largely local context. It was poetry which functioned within the city's public oral culture: in plays on the market, in *tableaux vivants* during the Corpus Christi procession, in recitations or songs on the steps of the town hall, in public or more private meetings there, or in a hall or chamber somewhere in the town. Reception at that time meant in the first place listening, although we may confidently assume that part of De Castelein's work circulated and was read in his lifetime in manuscript and in print. His literary production must have been extensive. In *De Const* he refers to being the author of thirty-six *esbattementen* (farces), thirty-eight *tafelspelen* (interludes), twelve *staende spelen van zinne* (long allegorical plays on stationary platforms) and thirty *waghen spelen* (short serious plays on wagons).¹¹ However, only one single example of his dramatic work survived. This is in sharp contrast to the survival of his extensive corpus of lyrical works:¹² the *Baladen van Doornijcke* (Ballads of Tournai), *Diversche liedekens* (Various Songs) and *De Const van Rhetoriken* itself, which is entirely in rhyme. Apart from 239 numbered, italicized strophes it contains an even larger amount of unnumbered model strophes printed in regular roman type, intended to illustrate points of theory.

Education

Clearly De Castelein's work itself is the best source for information about his scholarly training. He must have acquired his knowledge either in an educational institution or by self-study. There are no

¹¹ De Castelein, *Const*, 220.

¹² For a survey, see Coigneau, 'Matthijs de Castelein'.

indications that he ever enrolled as a student at a university. It is likely, however, that he travelled to Rome in 1507 when he was about twenty-two years of age.¹³ Unlike his friends, about whom more will be said later, he is not referred to as a *meester* (master), which would suggest an academic background, but as *heer*, a priest. In an act of sale dated 1512 concerning one of the two houses left to him by his father—De Castelein came from a rather well-to-do family—he is referred to as *presbyter* for the first time.¹⁴ This means that he was ordained shortly after his twenty-fifth birthday. If the assumption that he did not go to university is correct, he must have received some education locally at a parish or city school, as well as preparation for the priesthood in the form of an ‘apprenticeship’ with a priest, probably a friend of the family or a relation.¹⁵ It must be said, however, that the demands of the examination preceding ordination were not high: only knowledge of the liturgy, especially the sacraments, and (elementary) Latin was tested.¹⁶

In view of the minimal education required for the priesthood, the level of scholarship shown by De Castelein’s work must have been reached mainly by self-study. When writing *De Const* he had to be able to read contemporary French rhetorical manuals in manuscript as well as contemporary and classical Latin literature in print. Moreover, and more important, was the ability to internalize the content of these works and to use the information in a new coherent structure. The extent to which he himself believed in the humanistic educational ideal of self-improvement, of which he himself was an example, is apparent in the second strophe of his ballad ‘Op de Penne’ (On the Pen), written for “Studiuese gheesten, principael ionghe kinders” (Studios minds, principally young children) and ‘Der letteren beminders’ (Lovers of Letters):¹⁷

Who can write as well as read,
 Will be a man of fame, and reach great glory.
 For no one in the world need he be ashamed,
 For he will be a man of repute, eternally remembered.
 About the Bible, all the laws, diverse histories

¹³ Coigneau, ‘Castelein’, 102.

¹⁴ Castelain, ‘Genealogische gegevens’, 179.

¹⁵ Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, 137.

¹⁶ Bijsterveld, *Laverend*, 136–137.

¹⁷ De Castelein, *Const*, 106.

He can tell stories with commendation.
 It is all firmly contained in the temple of his heart.
 And he obtained it like the Resurrected One by writing and by
 reading.¹⁸

We see here that De Castelein lists as fields of knowledge the Bible, the law and history. He no doubt also classed as history classical history and mythology, which he frequently used in his works. As a priest and notary he was also familiar with the 'laws', which may refer to civil law.¹⁹ Being a man who to some extent had to live by his knowledge and his pen, the lines quoted must have been heartfelt. After all, they would make him famous, too, and ensure that he would be remembered as *poeta laureatus*.²⁰

De Const: *theory*

A considerable part of De Castelein's poems and his only surviving drama were written for a particular occasion, often after a commission by the civic authorities. The same applies to most of the model strophes in *De Const*. They were not written for this publication, but came from the collection which De Castelein amassed during the many years of his career as a factor. They are practical examples, therefore, on three counts: they illustrate the form, the content and the practical application of De Castelein's lyrics, in short, the *Sitz im Leben* of sixteenth-century vernacular poetry. The poet and his contemporaries considered this kind of poetry as a modern representation of classical rhetoric, of the *Const van Rhetoriken* (Art of Rhetoric), as De Castelein's title indicates. The alternation in one work of theory and practice shows that rhetoric was a public affair and beneficial to the common weal.

¹⁸ "Wie lesen en scrijfuē can bee te samen, / Werdt man van famen, tzynder grooter glorien. / Vuer niemend ter weerd en darf hy hem schamen, / Maer werd man van namen, teeuwigher memorien. / Bible, alle wetten, diueersche historien, / Mach hy verhalen als de ghepresene. Tes al vast binnen zynder herten ciborien. / Ende dit vercreegh hy als de gheresene / Met schrijfuene, met lesene."

¹⁹ Beside moral law and ecclesiastical law.

²⁰ In the author's portrait included in several editions of *De Const* De Castelein is shown wearing a laurel wreath. Guicciardini calls him a "gran'litterato e famoso Poeta" or "een seer gheleerdte ende vermaerdte Poete" (a very learned and famous poet); see: Guicciardini, *Descrittione*, 235–236; Guicciardini, *Beschryvinghe*, 315; Coigneau, 'Matthijs de Castelein', 464.

Let us first look at theoretical aspects of *De Const.* The manual does not aim to function merely as a ‘seconde rhétorique’ on the French model, in other words, a versificatory handbook or *ars versificandi* to use the medieval term. It is also in part a ‘première rhétorique’,²¹ a rhetorical manual in the classical sense of the term, to be used primarily for practical purposes. In his model poems De Castelein incorporated a great deal of biblical, historical and mythical material. In so doing, he entered the sphere of fiction or ‘poëtrie’, considered by the French rhetoricians as invention (*inventio*), the first of the orator’s tasks, the *officia oratoris*.²² They referred to a poet using classical mythology and history for inspiration as a ‘poète moderne’, a modern poet. It is in precisely these terms that De Castelein is described on the title page of *De Const.*: as a modern poet, a ‘poète moderne’. The list of classical authors whose learned and literary works he knew, is impressive: Martial, Pliny, Ovid, Ausonius and Horace. In addition there were the contemporary humanist authors like Polydore Vergil and Erasmus.²³

Where formal aspects of poetry were concerned he also made an effort to ground contemporary poetry on the classical art of rhetoric. In a considerable number of strophes on theoretical subjects (between one third and a quarter of the total amount) he establishes a connection between the art of poetry in his own time and public speaking in classical times, to be precise, with the rules stipulated in Cicero’s *De oratore* and in Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*.²⁴ We owe our knowledge of all the instances where De Castelein quotes or paraphrases these works to Iansen’s thorough detective work. She has no doubt that De Castelein intended to write “a real rhetorical handbook, thus following in the footsteps of the great masters in that field”.²⁵ More important, perhaps, than the derivations themselves is the way in which the author used them. By studying the way the borrowings are deployed, we may gain some insight into the extent of his own education and that of his readers. The “freely translated

²¹ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 91; Coigneau, ‘*De Const van Rhetoriken*’, 129–131; Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians and Poets*, 41; Moser, *Strijd voor rhetorica*, 103–104.

²² Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians and Poets*, 42.

²³ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 506–517; Coigneau, ‘Matthijs de Castelein’, 465.

²⁴ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians and Poets*, 43.

²⁵ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 163: “[Hij wilde] een echte rhetorica schrijven, in het voetspoor van de grootmeesters op dat gebied.”

basic rules," Iansen writes, were incorporated "mindlessly in the middle of all kinds of stopgaps, . . . even though they were found to embody essential aspects of the *ars bene dicendi*".²⁶ The loose order of the quotations may indicate that De Castelein used lecture notes on Quintilian, written down in the order in which his teacher had discussed them.²⁷ But it is not impossible either that he had real editions at his disposal of the *Institutio oratoria*, *De oratore* and Horace's *Ars poetica*.²⁸

The almost careless way in which, apparently without much method, he used classical-rhetorical quotations at first sight gives an impression of ignorance and lacunae. However, on closer inspection the approach would appear to indicate a good deal of experience with classical rhetoric and a wide knowledge of it. It is a matter of opinion whether De Castelein only made selective use of the works cited,²⁹ or incorporated "all essential rhetorical problems",³⁰ but there can be no doubt that, whether as a result of education or self-study, he was familiar with their content. That must also have been the case insofar as most of his readers were concerned. Iansen's conclusion on this issue is that De Castelein wrote his poetic handbook for the educated reader who had learned the rules of rhetoric at school. De Castelein did little more than refresh that knowledge, and it was that in particular which made him an authoritative figure.³¹

De Const: *practice*

Let us now turn to the practical side of De Castelein's *De Const*. In all, there are 115 model poems in *De Const*, varying in length from one to over a hundred lines and divided into different numbers of strophes. It is not possible to categorize them all here according to content and utilitarian purpose. Following the contemporary division of refrains, they may be said to represent poetry of a *vroede* (serious),

²⁶ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 162; 'De "vrij vertaalde grondregels [werden] achteloos midden tussen allerlei stoplappen" [verwerkt], "hoewel ze essentialia van de *ars bene dicendi* bleken te bevatten."

²⁷ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 163, 271.

²⁸ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 271.

²⁹ Spies, *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians and Poets*, 43.

³⁰ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 271.

³¹ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 271-272; see also Coigneau, 'De Const van Rhetoriken', 136.

zotte (comical) and *amoureuze* (amorous) nature. Poems in the latter category, in the tradition of medieval love poetry, form a minority. These poems are governed by the strict rules of rhetoric and are topical in character; they tend to offer variations on general themes and motifs. There are more and better comical texts, among them a refrain in praise of wine and beer, a poem on the author's own beard, and a satirical refrain on women.³²

However, the majority of the poems is on serious subjects, especially of a religious nature: refrains in praise of Mary and Saint Petronella, meditations on the Fall and the transitoriness of life, an adaptation of the 0-antiphones, monologues spoken by God and Christ, a comparison of Christ to the True Vine, morning and evening prayers, to mention only a few.³³ If these poems may be considered as didactic in relation to the faith, devotion and morality, in others the didactic nature consists of the provision of models from classical science, history and mythology. Often this entails little more than namedropping, but some poems show that De Castelein seriously considered classical stories and histories as instructive and helpful guidance for personal and social actions and thinking. He also successfully integrated the necessary scientific background. Below a number of instances of this tendency will be discussed.

Whatever his source (biblical or classical) or theme (faith or morals), De Castelein used his learning largely for the benefit of the collective, varying from the urban community in its totality to the circle of chambers and personal friends. The urban population was addressed in poems expressing joy and religious feeling on the occasion of princely births, marriages and entries, conquests and peace treaties and processions. In all these cases we have to do with poems *in het vroede*. Where chamber and friends are addressed, the poems express sociability and the enjoyment of companionship during meals, meetings for composing poetry and carnivalesque celebrations. These poems mostly fall into the category of *het zotte en amoureuze*.

The inclusion in *De Const* of poetry which functioned within the public orality of the city and served the interests of the urban community highlights the striking similarity of sixteenth-century metrical

³² De Castelein, *Const*, 184–187, 205–208, 192–200.

³³ De Castelein, *Const*, 95–97, 109–113, 117–121, 124–128, 141–146, 158–165, 176–179.

rhetorical practice and the classical eloquence in prose which it strove to emulate. Classical rhetoric was also of a public and oral nature, and also served the common weal. If in addition account is taken of the fact that the biblical, historical and mythological content of much contemporary poetry led its authors to employ rhetorical invention, there can be no doubt that De Castelein and his fellow poets took their identities as rhetoricians and orators seriously. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that the factor of the Oudenaarde chamber especially derived rules concerning style (*elocutio*), delivery (*pronunciatio/actio*) and the training and personality of the orator from his classical models.³⁴ He plays particular attention to the effective use of voice and gestures, especially in relation to drama, which he considered the highest form of contemporary rhetoric in rhyme.³⁵

In contrast to the classical rhetoric of the law court and senate there was the modern, that is: classically inspired, rhetoric of the market and street, of platform, banqueting hall and chamber, of procession and royal entries. This is not to say that this type of public eloquence was new in itself: long before the advent of the literary Renaissance (to be understood in the limited sense defined earlier) rhetoricians played, sang and recited poetry on (semi-)public occasions. However, its value was increasingly appreciated in the light of classical rhetoric and its place and function in classical society. The effortless incorporation of what was essentially medieval poetry in a new, originally classical, rhetorical framework also explains why De Castelein did not feel any need for discussing classical dramatic and poetic genres in *De Const* in addition to classical views on rhetoric. Although he thought that certain forms of rhetorician poetry had classical roots and tried to imitate classical poetic forms in rhetorician poems, he was only partly successful in these efforts.³⁶ De Castelein did not succeed in writing Renaissance literature (again in the limited sense defined earlier), but it is hardly likely that he aspired to do so. After all, he considered himself a sufficiently humanistically oriented author.

³⁴ Spies, "Op de questye . . .", 43.

³⁵ Coigneau, 'De Const van Rhetoriken', 134-135.

³⁶ Iansen, *Verkenningen*, 273-274.

Street and market

The rich variety of model poems in *De Const* enables us to reconstruct different social circles as De Castelein's public. Especially among the serious and comical poems there are many which were written for a particular occasion and contain references to existing people and facts. Whether as a result or not, they evince De Castelein's typical themes. A remarkable example in this context is his adaptation of Erasmus' *Expostulatio Jesu*. Erasmus' poem had made a strong impression in reform-minded circles, as Christ is emphatically presented in it as the only road to salvation. De Castelein does not avoid this Christocentrism in his adaptation. However, whereas Christ calls himself in the *Expostulatio* the only way—"Sum via qua sola coeli itur ad astra"—, in De Castelein's refrain He expresses himself in the much better known words from the New Testament: "Ick ben den wegh, de wareid en dleuen" (John 14:6: "I am the way, the truth, and the life") and describes His passion in a way reminiscent of late-medieval passion devotion.³⁷ For the priest-rhetorician Christ also was the only way, but this was especially the suffering Christ, whose road to Golgotha was to be followed by mankind with compassion. The conflation of the suffering Christ from late-medieval devotion with the living and teaching Christ of the New Testament which became such a strong concept in the sixteenth century, is characteristic of religious feeling prior to the Iconoclastic Fury.

This sentiment also returns in the choice of theme of the *tableaux vivants* which graced the annual Corpus Christi procession in Oude-naarde. As was mentioned above, De Castelein was administrator-supervisor of the tableaux programme for a number of decades in the sixteenth century. As such he was responsible for writing and correcting the so-called *spraken*, short monologues or dialogues said by the actors in the tableaux. *De Const* has several poems which may have been used as (part of) a *sprake*. It is assumed that De Castelein's adaptation of the *Expostulatio Jesu* was part of his—now lost—play of the Seven Sheddings of Christ's Blood.³⁸ This is even more likely in the case of a number of other poems.³⁹

³⁷ De Castelein, *Const*, 162; Arens, 'Erasmus' *Expostulatio Jesu*', 162; Coigneau, 'Matthijs de Castelein', 457–458; Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 127.

³⁸ Arens, 'Erasmus' *Expostulatio Jesu*', 159, 172.

³⁹ De Castelein, *Const*, 117–118, 119–121; Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 128–130.

By means of *spraken* and plays De Castelein contributed in the public sphere of the street and marketplace to the dissemination or consolidation of traditional religious ideas and practices. However, the example of the *Expostulatio* adaptation shows that on occasion he also managed to give expression to new, humanistic ideas. The same applies to his songs and poems on public occasions in general, and to his voluminous cycle of the *Baladen van Doornijcke* (Ballads of Tournai) in particular. These texts also show that, subject to genre and public, De Castelein employed different textual registers. Before discussing these, it is important to narrow down our focus from the city and its population as a whole to the friends who were De Castelein's regular companions, as they formed a second, more particular audience for his work.

Chamber and tavern

It may safely be assumed that De Castelein vented the ideas and opinions expressed in *De Const* long before he came to write them down at the end of his life. He may have developed them within the confines of the chamber as part of the poetic exercises organized there. He may also have discussed them with the friends mentioned in a poem, which is unique in rhetorician poetry, the 'Memorie van zommighen levende ende dood' (Remembrance of some, living and dead). It is a ballad numbering twenty strophes, written in 1522 or shortly after, which was incorporated in *De Const* as a model poem. In it De Castelein lists all his friends, dead and alive, twenty-six altogether. It is due to Iansen's detective work again that many of the twenty-six friends mentioned could be identified.⁴⁰ Six are referred to as *meester* and may have been *magistri artium*.⁴¹ Three of them were graduates of the University of Louvain.⁴² It is not known where the others had studied. Five friends, three of them designated as *heer* and probably, therefore, priests, are also mentioned in the matriculation tables of Louvain University.⁴³ The number of friends who at one

⁴⁰ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', 361–378.

⁴¹ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nrs. 6, 8, 12, 17, 18, 22.

⁴² Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nrs. 12, 17, 22.

⁴³ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nrs. 3, 16, 26 (priests), 14, 21.

time enrolled at this university is eight, therefore, while a ninth friend may have studied there as well.⁴⁴ Whether all of them graduated is not known.

Apart from the three priests who received (part of) their education in Louvain, there are four more friends whom De Castelein refers to as *heer*.⁴⁵ This means that the total number of priests in the group is seven. Some of the *meesters* may also have been ordained. This is certainly so in the case of Jan van Asselt,⁴⁶ and is a possibility where Hermes Quamoere is concerned.⁴⁷ The latter, a graduate of Louvain, was employed as a surgeon at Our Lady's Hospital in Oudenaarde. Jan van den Vivere was a surgeon also, but nothing is known of his educational background.⁴⁸ De Castelein's interest in medical matters is evident from two model poems in *De Const*, in which he displays his classical knowledge of the subject.⁴⁹ Joos de Pape is said to have been "experienced in the art of singing and in Latin".⁵⁰ In the Louvain matriculation lists he is referred to as *logicus*. There were more musicians in the group of friends: Loeycken Voet is called a *componist* (composer),⁵¹ while it is said about Arend Caen that "neither instruments nor sweet music could preserve him from death".⁵² De Castelein also appears to have been knowledgeable about music; after all, he also composed songs. The Jan van Asselt mentioned earlier was one of De Castelein's fellow poets: as its *factor* he was in charge of the city's most recent chamber, *De Bloeiende Jeugd* (Blossoming Youth). Finally, Jan van den Vivere is referred to as a *wel dichtende heer*, a priest and a good poet.

It is clear that at the time that the 'Memorie' was written, De Castelein was at the height of his powers—in 1522 he was about thirty-seven years old—and frequented the educated circles which had been a part of his life for some time. Of the twenty-six friends mentioned, eighteen had had some sort of (university) education. Three were

⁴⁴ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 7.

⁴⁵ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nrs. 4, 10, 11, 13.

⁴⁶ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 17.

⁴⁷ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 22.

⁴⁸ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 18.

⁴⁹ De Castelein, *Const*, 86-91, 104-106.

⁵⁰ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 12: "Ind den sangh expeert ende ind Latijn".

⁵¹ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 9.

⁵² Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nr. 10: "Hem hilpen instrumenten noch musike zoet" [van de dood].

accomplished musicians, and one of those was also an excellent Latin scholar. At least two were, like De Castelein, poets. Certainly the company will not have spent all their time drinking, as the author would have us believe, but will have entertained one another with recitations and songs (of their own poems and songs or those of others), and with discussions and argumentations on all kinds of subjects, ranging from poems and plays to learned disputations and matters of a political and religious nature. Would it not be possible to consider this a *sodaliteit*, an informal circle of literate locals regularly meeting on the basis of a humanistic pursuit of sociability? Or did they meet as a society and is De Castelein reminiscing in his 'Memorie' about meetings of rhetoricians in the chamber or in the tavern? If his friends were also members of the chamber and it is in this context that he met them, this certainly suggests that the chambers of rhetoric functioned as *lieux du savoir*.

One poem, two versions

A remarkable stanza in the *Baladen van Doornijcke*, De Castelein's earliest datable work which has never yet been edited nor been the subject of critical analysis, shows that De Castelein's poetry was read and recited in this circle of friends. It may even have been the environment where it was composed, discussed and evaluated. The *factor* of Oudenaarde wrote this cycle of ballad strophes in or shortly after 1521, the year in which Emperor Charles V's army conquered the city of Tournai, at that time held by the French. During the siege, which lasted several months, Charles was lodged in Oudenaarde. The city was pro-Charles and in the Valois-Habsburg conflict opposed Francis I.

In effect the *Baladen van Doornijcke* were written to console the French king, who is called upon to accept Habsburg supremacy. The ballads begin with a dream vision, inspiring the poet to outline the reasons for the siege of the city with which, as is often the case between cities of similar size and importance situated a short distance apart, Oudenaarde had something of an ambivalent relationship. De Castelein's tone when addressing the king and city is full of respect. At the same time the poet also addresses Charles. Both rulers are presented with an image of ideal leadership, as if the poem was a mirror for princes. In this connection the readers or listeners find

themselves presented with a huge number of historical names—especially of kings—and facts from classical and medieval history. The siege itself is hardly at issue at this stage. Comments on its progress, or more precisely, its conclusion, are largely considered from an astrological point of view. The fall of Tournai was in de stars, the poem states, an opinion which is substantiated by a long catalogue of similar cases. In short, the *Baladen* are a display of learning: historiography, astrology, classical mythology, all this is brought to bear by a poet presenting himself emphatically as “I”, who adopts a rather superior and impartial position and does not hesitate to upbraid the leaders of the warring parties, at that time the mightiest princes in western Christendom.

This, at least, is the position adopted by De Castelein in the first eighty-nine strophes of the poem. Together they form the earliest known version of the *Baladen*, as published in 1571 by Gheeraert van Salenson in Ghent. However, in two later extant versions the eighty-nine strophes are followed by another thirty-six in which the poet's overall tone and attitude are completely different.⁵³ Now the focus is on Tournai and the siege of the city, and De Castelein indulges without any reticence in a torrent of abuse of its inhabitants. This is no longer a learned disputation on the qualities of the wise and just ruler which was relevant for a wider audience than the inhabitants of Oudenaarde alone, but a bitter attack containing a reference to certain details of the conflict and destined, therefore, primarily for a local public of which the friends mentioned by the poet in his ‘Memorie’ certainly formed part. This is clear from the first stanza of the continuation, in which De Castelein openly states why he wrote the continuation:

Here I intended to end, with an open mind, without distress,
Without hurting anyone and to everyone's satisfaction.
But Poortman and heer Isaac van Heurne,
Master Willem Delmeere and brother Jan Steenweghe
Said that I would receive little credit for my work,
Unless I exposed the failings of the people of Tournai.
Not because I like gnawing someone's leg, like the Roman Zoilus,

⁵³ De Vooy, ‘Een ruzie’; it concerns the editions by Gileyn Manilius (Ghent 1573) and Jan van Waesberghe de Jonge (Rotterdam 1616). See also the entries in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, I, 462–464 (nr. C 157), 465–466 (nr. C 159).

But so that I might teach them, that overweening, conceited lot, a lesson.⁵⁴

Four men, then, Poortman, Isaac van Heurne, Willem del Meere and Jan Steenweghe, all of whom are referred to as friends in the 'Memorie',⁵⁵ have advised De Castelein to launch an attack on the people of Tournai, as otherwise his work will receive little acclaim among his friends or the inhabitants of Oudenaarde. The positive tone in the first two lines of the second version of the poem make clear that in the first instance he was averse to hurting any person or party. It is also clear that De Castelein remained true to his initial purpose by the fact that he retained the first version. While standing by his own learned, perhaps humanistic convictions, he was also sensitive to the wishes of a larger public, which he also wished to serve with his poetry. After all, he was the city's poet who was supposed to give expression to the feelings of the population at large. Finally it received both versions: the elitist version as well as the popular one.

One event, two poems

An intriguing question prompts itself. Were the friends appreciative of the first version as it was written, but did they recommend that De Castelein add the extra strophes in view of the work's reception in the town, or did they consider the text too mild themselves? It is hardly likely that the knowledge and ideas vented in the *Baladen* were not familiar to them, as at least three of the four friends mentioned earlier (as well as most of the others listed in the 'Memorie') had had a good education. De Castelein must have expected his show of learning to make a good impression and knew well how to write in different registers. Two poems written to commemorate the same occasion—the meeting between Charles V and Francis I in

⁵⁴ "Hier meend'ick te slutene vry vranc van treurene, / Zonder iemant te bereurene, veur een gemeen zege. / Maer Poortman ende Heer Isaac van Heurene, / Meester Willem del Meere ende broer Jan Steenweghe / Zeyden dat ick de eere zeer kleen kreghe, / Steld'ick d'messit niet vanden Doornijcschen laten. / Niet dat ick als Zoilus (romein) te knagen iemants been plege, / Maer dat ick hemlien geven zou, als volc verwaten, / Haerlieder predicaten."

⁵⁵ Iansen, 'Speurtocht', nrs. 25, 26, 6, 3.

Aigues Mortes in 1538 for the ratification of the Truce of Nice—make clear that De Castelein knew how to adapt his style, populist or elitist, to the designated public and the genre. For this occasion our factor of the Oudenaarde chamber wrote both a poem of eleven strophes in ballad form and a song of five strophes in the form of a refrain.⁵⁶ They must have been written practically simultaneously and show traces of intertextuality. For example, the last lines of the two poems are very similar, while the last line of the ballad is identical to the *stok* of the song ‘Lof vadere, lof Sone, lof Heylich Gheest’ (Praise to the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost). There are striking similarities in theme—again the French-Habsburg war—, content and tone with the first eighty-nine strophes of the *Baladen van Doornicke*. The description of the actual meeting on the king’s galley barely takes up two strophes. Most of the poem is devoted to classical and biblical parallels of this event and De Castelein’s ideas about war and peace—again with a profusion of historical references. In this respect the subject is treated much more modestly in the refrain: the historical references are fewer in number and shallower in meaning. On the whole the emphasis in the refrain is much more on the celebration of the happy event itself than on reflections on its implications. This is in accordance with the way a song would be used. It would seem, therefore, that the ballad was written for the (semi-) private circle of friends and members of the chamber, while the song was presented in public.

Shrove Tuesday

There is more of De Castelein’s poetry which must have been presented to a small company and is a showcase of the poet’s erudition. Remarkably the evidence shows that this happened on the occasion of a secular festival which, to say the least, is not known for its contribution to high culture: the boy bishop’s feast on the day of the Holy Innocents (28 December). *De Const* contains four poems written for recitation during one of the charivaris. Two have as their subject variations on the ship of ‘sente Reinuut’ (Saint Clean empty) and the ‘Tcapittel vanden spinrocke’ (The chapter of the distaff)—

⁵⁶ De Castelein, *Const*, 91–94; De Castelein, *Diversche liedekens*, 74–76.

two popular themes from late-medieval world-upside-down literature.⁵⁷ It is clear from the third poem—a call to participate in the boy bishop's feast—that the celebration is held in the chamber itself, to which on this occasion even the members' wives had been admitted.⁵⁸

The fourth poem told the assembled company about a voyage which the poet, that is, De Castelein had undertaken, like a latter-day Odysseus to the island of Aea. There lived Circe, the sorceress who had poisoned all her male guests, causing them all to change into animals with the exception of the story's protagonist. The conclusion is that women can do with men whatever they will. Perhaps the company had adopted animal fancy dress for the occasion or were wearing animal masks. It would be a remarkable instance of the way in which the classics were integrated in popular culture. The success of the integration may have been enhanced by the fact that the educational institutions had already created some familiarity with the Circe theme.⁵⁹

However, once again De Castelein considers it necessary to give an explanation of his method. Not, in this case, by referring to criticism of the poem and writing a sequel, as he did in the *Baladen*, but by anticipating such criticism and defending explicitly at the end of the poem the inclusion of classical matter: "Woe betide those who spurn the classical authors, / for under the hard shell is hidden the sweet kernel."⁶⁰ And so, by implicitly admitting that at first sight his poem may be a hard nut to crack, De Castelein urges his readers and listeners to persevere as these strange, improbable stories from a culture of long ago hide under their surface a treasure of worthwhile social, moral and even occasionally religious precepts.

Conclusion

De Castelein's authorial comments at the end of the poem about Circe form yet another indication that De Castelein acted as a cul-

⁵⁷ De Castelein, *Const*, 130–133, 133–136; Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 134–135.

⁵⁸ De Castelein, *Const*, 155–157.

⁵⁹ Coigneau, 'Matthijs de Castelein', 146, n. 41.

⁶⁰ De Castelein, *Const*, 79: "Tfy hemlien dan die de poëten versmeden, / Onder harte schale schuldtd de zoete keerne."

tural mediator in Oudenaarde society. There are good reasons for regarding him as an intermediary between popular and learned culture, or, more accurately, between existing native—some would say medieval—ideas, values and practices, and their new, classically inspired counterparts which had penetrated the lives and thoughts of the educated middle and upper classes through the *studia humanitatis*. His background, education, life style and profession made De Castelein the ideal person to fulfil this role. As a member of a middle class family, self-taught, of an empathetic social temperament, a family man, a freelance clerk, parish chaplain and town poet, he led an active social life and, certainly in his capacity as *factor*, had to be in touch equally well with the church and study as the tavern and chamber.

De Castelein is one of many rhetoricians who has not yet been the subject of a monograph, in spite of the availability of a considerable number of primary and secondary sources.⁶¹ In addition there is still a need for the publication of (revised) critical editions of many rhetorician texts, as these are clearly of the utmost importance for the reconstruction of the mental and intellectual horizons of their authors. Such biographical and bibliographical studies may provide valuable information on the education and learning of the urban middle classes, people who knew little or no Latin and of whom only a minority had attended university. After all, vernacular literature had to offer instruction as well as entertainment, and also served as an instrument for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge.⁶² As a consequence studying the vernacular literature of this period opens a window for the modern scholar on the knowledge of the past.

⁶¹ Exceptions are: Roose, *Anna Bijns*; Vinck-Van Caekenberghe, *Een onderzoek* (on Cornelis van Ghistele); studies in preparation: Johan Oosterman on Anthonis de Roovere and Wim Hüsken on Cornelis Everaert.

⁶² Hilde de Ridder-Symoens has designated vernacular literature in itself as a source of education and learning (see: De Ridder-Symoens, 'Education and Literacy').

WRITING POETRY AS INTELLECTUAL TRAINING.
CHAMBERS OF RHETORIC AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF VERNACULAR INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE LOW
COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1480 AND 1600

Arjan van Dixhoorn

In 1562 Eduard de Dene (Bruges 1505–c.1578), *factor*, that is, principal poet and playwright, of the chamber of rhetoric *De Drie Santinnen* (The three saintly women), wrote a preface for the *Rhetoricale wercken van Anthonis de Roovere*, published by Jan van Ghelen in Antwerp. In his preface Eduard de Dene praised his illustrious predecessor, who also came from Bruges. Although a simple craftsman who had not studied at a university and knew only Flemish, De Roovere's eloquence was such, De Dene wrote, that he had won the title of "Prinche der Rethorijcken" in a competition when only seventeen years of age. Later De Roovere acquired such fame that he was awarded the title of "Vlaemsch Doctor ende Poetisch Rethorizie" (Flemish Doctor and Poetic Rhetorician) in recognition of his learning. One of his poetic works, the *Sacramentslof* (Praise of the Sacrament), was officially approved by the Church as being suitable for general devotion, according to De Dene.¹

The fact that De Roovere, a self-made man, was granted the title of "Flemish doctor", implied recognition of the contribution made by the chambers of rhetoric to his intellectual development. In this article I shall explore the question whether these vernacular literary organizations provided an educational alternative in the Low Countries. Did the early modern cultural field offer opportunities for acquiring intellectual habits, studious behaviour and intellectual accomplishments and knowledge (in short, an intellectual habitus) for men who had not been schooled in a Latin School or university? Was it

¹ Oosterman, 'Anthonis de Roovere', 12–17 and 23; according to De Dene, the *Sacramentslof* was said to have been "geapproveert, gheconsenteert ende toegelaten openbaer inde H. Kercke tot een yegelijcx devotie in gescrijften gestelt te moghen zijne" (approved, consented to and admitted for public placement in writing in the Holy Church to further everyone's devotion).

possible for cultural institutions outside the universities to produce intellectuals, and were there more people like De Roovere who received their scholarly training in the chambers of rhetoric? An answer to these questions may contribute to the discussion of the past few decades regarding the role of the chambers of rhetoric in the cultural education of urban citizens.²

Following Pierre Bourdieu, the intellectual (or cultural) field may be regarded as a relatively autonomous area within society, which is governed by its own rules. These result from the interaction between cultural institutions. In this field existing as well as new cultural, intellectual or symbolic products are produced, disseminated, appreciated, used and reused.³

Within a field, institutions, networks and participants (like Eduard de Dene or Anthonis de Roovere and their public of readers, listeners, followers and critics) occupy particular positions according to their function: elevated or marginal, as established or rather as would-be producers. Through the transmission of traditions and mutual criticism, institutions in the field are responsible for the development of cultural preferences, interests and taste among producers and consumers. As a result of their competition with the established order, newcomers are pressed to generate new products or reach a new public. Eventually some succeed in acquiring a position of their own among an old as well as new public. From an established position prominent figures in the literary field become role models for later generations. In this way new literary 'schools' originate. The position of established cultural celebrities like Anthonis de Roovere in the intellectual field is fixed for a considerable time by the workings of the literary canon. The institutions and participants in the literary field guide and influence the form and reception of cultural products. In educational institutions—schools, universities and other educational establishments—both the consumers and the producers

² Pleij, *Sneeuwpoppen* and De Ridder-Symoens, 'Beschavingsoffensief', 429–433.

³ A person may be considered an intellectual when he or she gives evidence of extensive general knowledge, a contemplative temperament, meticulous and rational thought processes. In addition, an intellectual has a scholarly or comparable background, probably has an occupation requiring mental rather than manual exertion, and is regarded as the producer and guardian of culture. Intellectual development usually expresses itself through social, cultural or political involvement. See Bourdieu, *Les règles de l'art*, 185–187 and Frijhoff, 'Wetenschap, beroep en status', 18–30.

of cultural products are formed. As a result, both groups share cultural and intellectual frames of reference. The educational institutions take care of the required reproduction of cultural products, innovators and consumers (the public). They exert a notable influence, therefore, on the rules governing the intellectual field and its participants.⁴ Institutions like literary criticism, publishing houses, libraries, literary associations and networks play an important part in the development of the status of producers in the intellectual field. In the Low Countries we see that in the early modern period a central position among the institutions in the literary field is occupied by the chambers of rhetoric.

The rhetorician network between 1480–1600

Between 1480 and 1600 a fine network of chambers of rhetoric was developed in cities, towns and villages in Holland and Zeeland, as well as in some northern and eastern towns in the Low Countries. It was a new phenomenon there, copied from the cultural centre of the Low Countries, Brabant and Flanders. Throughout this period city, town and country in urbanized Holland and Zeeland were integrated into a single economic system.⁵ The fact that chambers of rhetoric—long seen as a typically late-medieval urban phenomenon—are widely found in the rural areas of Holland and Zeeland is a good indication of the extent to which city, town and country had developed to form one integrated cultural arena. With their autonomous communication networks the chambers represented an interurban forum the participants of which were actively involved in all kinds of social activities.⁶

Developments of an intellectual, social, political and religious nature influenced the activities of the rhetorician network. During the political conflicts after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, cultural contacts between Holland, Zeeland, Flanders and Brabant intensified.⁷

⁴ Bourdieu, *Les règles de l'art*, 298–390.

⁵ For a general overview see De Vries and Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 585–592. For Holland in the fifteenth century, see K. Goudriaan, 'Holland in de tijd van Leeu', 31–60.

⁶ See, for example, Van Dixhoorn, 'Rederijkers', 57–64.

⁷ In the cultural exchange between these regions the early printers in Holland,

In these years groups in the major cities and towns in Holland and Zeeland were inspired by the example of Flanders and Brabant to form their own networks of chambers. After 1500 socio-political relations became more stable. Supra-regional cultural contacts between the four main regions of the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands became less intensive. Chambers in Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zeeland tended increasingly to limit their interurban contacts to regional networks of chambers. Around 1527 the chambers of Holland—possibly inspired by the Brabantine practice of organizing regional literary contests, the *landjuweel*—agreed among themselves to hold annual gatherings during which the chambers would respond to a prize question set by the organizing chamber by writing a play, song or poem. In the years following 1560 the development of an interregional network between the chambers of rhetoric in the Habsburg Low Countries is again noticeable. At that time the northern Low Countries saw an upsurge in the number of newly instituted chambers. The increasing activity within the rhetorician network coincided with the growing pressure exerted by central government on the many reform movements. After the outbreak of the Revolt (1568) and the reconquest of the southern Low Countries by the Spanish authorities after 1580, thousands of Flemings and Brabanters fled to Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. Many of the refugees became active participants of existing chambers there; in a number of cases they instituted their own chambers.⁸

The intellectual ambition of chambers of rhetoric

In 1587 the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *De Eglentier* (The Eglantine) published a handbook on rhetoric in Dutch. With the publication of *Rederijck-kunst* (The Art of Rhetoric) the chamber concluded a project whose aim it had been to produce a vernacular handbook for

active after 1477, played important parts. One of the earliest printers in Holland, Gerard Leeu from Gouda, printed De Roovere's *Sacramentslof* in 1478. At the same time this text circulated in Holland in manuscript. Brinkman, *Dichten uit Liefde*, 173–178.

⁸ Based on a provisional repertory of chambers of rhetoric in the Northern Low Countries 1480–1650 by Arjan van Dixhoorn and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene (forthcoming 2003).

the *trivium* (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric). In the prologue to the *Twe-spraak*, the book on dialectic published in 1584, and the *Rederijck-kunst* which was published three years later, *De Eglentier* stated that the project was the logical outcome of what it saw as the public task of chambers of rhetoric.

Do we desire fully to fulfil our task and be a credit to our names? Then it is our duty diligently to study the chambers' original purpose: it will be seen that they were instituted as schools using the country's common language, for all art-loving adult persons to practise knowledge delightful and useful for the country.⁹

De Eglentier, then, had no doubts that chambers of rhetoric had traditionally functioned as institutions for adult education in Dutch.

Historians usually regard this notion of the social function of chambers as a breach in rhetorician tradition. *De Eglentier* is considered to have developed a new, humanistic educational programme in these prologues.¹⁰ However, from the middle of the fifteenth century chambers throughout the Low Countries had presented themselves as ambitious educational institutions. It was not in the least unusual for them to make a conscious effort to draw their various activities, conveniently designated as rhetoric and as such part of one of the three subjects of the *trivium*, into their intellectual, pedagogical sphere. Even more ambitious were claims assigning to the art of rhetoric the first place among the seven liberal arts, constituting the entire basic university curriculum.¹¹

Rhetorician culture largely developed by virtue of its practical application. Until the middle of the sixteenth century little thought was given to the best way of participating in the chambers and the desired effect this might have.¹² The theoretical discussions of later

⁹ "Lust ons dan ons ampt ghenoech te doen ende onze naam te betrachten? Zo staat ons vlijtigh na te spueren der kameran aller eerste instellingen: die zalmen bevinden als ghemene land taals scholen voor allen bejaarden kunstlievenden menschen tot oeffening van alle vermakelijcke ende land-nutte wetenschap opgerecht te zijn." Quoted from Dibbets, *Twe-Spraak*, 56–57.

¹⁰ Spies, '1 juli 1584', 177–181.

¹¹ As in Kapelle in 1508, and Sommelsdijk in 1515. In both cases alumni of the University of Louvain were among those formulating the programme. See n. 35.

¹² Until well into the seventeenth century Mattheijs de Castelein's *Const van Rhetoriken* (Art of Rhetoric) was used as a manual. It does not contain anything resembling a theoretical treatise on the function of chambers of rhetoric and their activities. See also the article by Bart Ramakers in this volume.

date led to a general discussion of the position of rhetorician activities among the intellectual disciplines and to efforts to purify the Dutch language.

The small amount of reflection we find before 1584 on the application of rhetorical practice shows that rhetoricians saw themselves as participants in the field of education. Both the chambers and their gatherings were referred to as schools and their members as students or 'scholars'.¹³ The sessions held by the chamber were the occasion for practising the 'conste' (art) of rhetoric.¹⁴ The idea was that the practical application of the rules of rhetoric would help the rhetorician improve his analytical reading, writing¹⁵ and reciting skills, thus improving his knowledge and insight and sharpening his mind.¹⁶ The chambers offered their members training and schooling. At the same time they publicly posed as instructors of the community, on a par with the traditional intellectual leaders.¹⁷

Practical didactics in the life of a rhetorician

Which techniques and activities had been developed to educate the rhetorician? Central to the life of a rhetorician were the weekly meetings of the chamber, led by a chairman called the prince. During these meetings members were expected to behave courteously and elegantly. Together members practised speaking in public in an informal manner. Their exercises could take any number of forms. In some chambers, for example, it was customary for late-comers to

¹³ For example, the chamber in Veere in Zeeland was called *Missus Scholieren* after 1530. In a printed edition of their play *Boom der Schriflueren* of 1539 the Middelburg rhetoricians also called themselves 'scholars'. On this use of the concept 'school', see Ramakers, *Spelen en figuren*, 96–114.

¹⁴ Rhetoricians often referred to their activities by the term *oefenen*, to rehearse or practise. This meant much more than rehearsing parts for a public performance. See the witness reports from 1603–1604 of the rhetoricians in Lier in Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 609–619.

¹⁵ Writing included, apart from the intellectual aspect of writing texts, the technique of writing itself, as is evident from a statement by a young rhetorician from De Lier: Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 617.

¹⁶ Van Dixhoorn, 'Rederijkers', 60–63. See also the rules of the southern chambers Tielt in 1508, and Aalst in 1539, which will be discussed in the dissertation by Anne-Laure Van Bruaene of the University of Ghent.

¹⁷ On the cultural ambitions of chambers, see also Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, 26–29 and 183.

greet the assembled company with a short speech. Other chambers made it obligatory for all or a number of members, dressed in their tabards, to entertain the company by presenting a lecture.¹⁸

Once every quarter or at a member's initiative, the chambers held a refrain competition. The refrain was an important genre in the literature of the rhetoricians, which perfectly suited the dialogic character of chamber life. Each strophe or stanza of a refrain had to contain a proverbial last line (the *stok*) which was the quintessential element of the refrain.¹⁹ The last strophe of a refrain (the so-called prince strophe) traditionally began by addressing the prince. For a refrain contest one of the members thought up a question or *stok*. He then wrote it in rhyme on the so-called card, and presented it to his fellow-members, thus challenging them. The initiating member also organized a jury. Having heard the answers to the question recited in the chamber, the jury members scrutinized the written answers to the question to arrive eventually at a verdict based primarily on content. In this way the chamber's members learned to formulate problems, to draft a fluent, concise and well-argued text in response, to present it in public and to criticize each other's contributions. It is likely that the author of the best response received public acclaim and may have been obliged to start the next competition. In this way members were stimulated to improve themselves and to challenge their fellow-members intellectually to surpass or to emulate them.²⁰

The dialogic structure of competitions of this kind served as excellent training for the writing of much more complex texts. Public festivities offered chambers of rhetoric prime opportunities for presenting themselves and for practising the best way of addressing, instructing and entertaining a larger audience than offered by the chamber. On such occasion refrains and other short texts might be presented, but the chambers also specialized in drama. Drama was the ultimate mass medium and in the dramatized arguments, which

¹⁸ Van Dixhoorn, 'Rederijkers', 59–60 and the databank of rules governing rhetorician lives in the Northern Netherlands 1480–1650, compiled as part of my post-graduate research project.

¹⁹ Definition as in Bostoën, *Het album J. Rotarii*, 10. On the genre see Coigneau, *Refreinen in het zotte*.

²⁰ Cf. J. Spoelder, *Prijsboeken*, on pedagogical notions of competition in the sixteenth century, 23–66.

the chamber produced, all available methods of presentation, both visual and oral, might be used to maximum effect. In short or in longer plays the chambers vented opinions by means of comical or serious dialogues on all kinds of socially relevant questions, some containing a riddle or comical situation, others being of a theological or moralistic nature. The *spelen van zinne*, serious allegorical plays and the quintessential rhetorician genre, were the Dutch equivalent of the French and English morality plays. A distinctive aspect of the Dutch *spelen van zinne* is their dialogue structure which is strongly reminiscent of the disputations held in schools and universities to teach students, by means of argument and counter-argument, to internalize a particular text or insight and subsequently find the most effective words for instructing others.²¹

The didactic structure of the *spelen van zinne* entailed more than a desire to convince the public of a particular idea. Like the refrains, the *spelen* were also a good way of training the rhetoricians themselves in writing long texts. The authors as well as the actors explored the pros and cons of a particular idea during the production. In this way they learned to debate a particular point. Actors learned the best way of committing long texts to memory, and of presenting them as best suited their particular role. They learned how to address a large audience and that a louder voice, variation in tone and volume, melodious speech and effective body language were all part of a stock of techniques which might be employed to enliven the play and induce the audience to pay attention to the actors. When an interurban contest was organized with a prize for the best play, chambers competed to produce the play with the best text as well as the best performance. A good actor, good speakers and successful chambers might no doubt acquire star status in such competitions.

The competitions were meetings during which several chambers presented their responses to a prize question previously formulated by the organizing chamber. Festivals such as these, whether on a grand or on a smaller scale, held the network of chambers together. Within that network texts, practices, ideas and information were exchanged. The festivals contributed to the development of a shared literary taste and intellectual preferences. Rhetorician culture and the

²¹ M. Spies, "Op de questye . . .", 139–150. On the didactic aspects of rhetorician literature, see also Pleij, 'Geladen vermaak', 75–103.

cultural heritage it disseminated between 1480 and 1600 became the touchstone of discernment for large sections of the community, both actual participants and their public. The literary forms and techniques of the rhetoricians also influenced communication outside the circuit of chambers. They are found in rhetorically formulated petitions and in the pamphlets which were to appear in large numbers after the beginning of the Revolt against Spain.²² The network of the rhetoricians thus stimulated, at first perhaps unwittingly, but at a later stage most purposely, the development of a Dutch language which was suitable for literate communication.

Membership

Rhetorician culture was cultivated male culture. Membership of one of the chambers of rhetoric was regarded as a useful and civilized occupation, especially for young men. This is not to say that only young men joined the chambers. In fact, there were few regulations specifying qualifications for membership. The regulations never state, for example, that men had to be citizens or burghers of a particular town. Even such matters as a certain level of prosperity or a particular social or educational background were never formulated. Naturally, new members would have to be able to afford membership fees. Costs made in the course of meetings, performances or contests were usually shared equally, but were usually relatively low. A much weightier argument in the admission and selection process was the would-be member's reputation. His behaviour had to be above reproach and even his friends had to be of good report. Usually the assembled company had the last word in matters of admission. An aspiring member would, for instance, be required to attend a number of gatherings, during which the way in which he conducted himself and associated with future members was assessed. Primarily the established members of the chamber had to feel at ease with the aspiring member. Although membership of a chamber in a city not one's own was in principle possible, it was

²² Many pamphlets were written by rhetoricians, as appears from the survey of publications by rhetoricians in Zeeland. See the notes in Meertens, *Letterkundig leven*, 136–152.

generally assumed that members would join a chamber in their own city. However, in the village of De Lier in Holland members from nearby locations also appeared as members of the chamber in 1603. Clearly the chamber performed a central function in the region in this case.²³

In certain circles, among families without academic tradition but probably with social aspirations, membership may well have been regarded as supplementing the education of young adult sons. In 1563 Job Gommersz (1543–1586?) entered the chamber of the village of Nieuwerkerk at the age of twenty. A contemporary of Gommersz', Simon Stevin (1548–1620), who was to be at the heart of a very active intellectual vernacular network after his flight to Holland in 1581, entered the Bruges chamber of rhetoric *De Heilige Geest* (The Holy Ghost) in 1571 at the age of twenty-three. Another paragon of Dutch vernacular intellectual life after 1583 was Karel van Mander (1548–1606), active from 1566 onwards in Flemish chambers, at the same time that he entered upon his apprenticeship as a painter. Finally Jan van Hout (1542–1609), town clerk in Leiden from 1564 to 1569 and again from 1573 onwards, had a rhetorician background and participated as a young man in chambers in Holland.²⁴

Is it possible to establish the average age of chamber members? As a result of the poor survival of membership lists and the provisional state of research into this subject, a tentative impression must suffice.²⁵ What we find is a company in which all age-groups are represented, with a substantial number of men under thirty, but including men of forty and older in active roles. Whatever the exact ages of the chamber members may have been, we may confidently assume that in the chambers young and old convened.

In all probability the majority of newly admitted members left the chamber again after a few years. For example, between 1610 and 1650 the average duration of membership in the Haarlem chamber

²³ Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 623.

²⁴ For Gommersz, see below; for Stevin, see Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, IV, 313; for Van Mander, see Bostoën, 'Medewerkers aan *Den Nederduytschen Helicon*', 16–17; for Van Hout, see Koppenol, *Leids heetal*, 103–113.

²⁵ Based on interrogations of witnesses by De Lier in Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 609–636 and the database of Haarlem rhetoricians (author) on the basis of membership lists in Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal* (Haarlem) 385 ff.

De Wijngaertrancken (The Vine Branch) was between three and four years. In certain periods membership appears to have been more extensive: between 1610 and 1615 average membership duration ranged from five to six years. A few decades later, however, between 1646 and 1650, membership generally terminated after only one to two years. Short periods of membership were the rule, long ones the exception, but it is clear that rhetoricians who continued their membership for ten years or more cannot have failed to leave their mark on the association.²⁶

The chambers and the intellectual field

As in the later period, the acquisition of a cultivated habitus was also the preferred road to a higher social position or function in the sixteenth century. The established educational system with its different types of schools was the first option. By following the track laid out by the *schrijfscholen*, primary schools concentrating on basic writing and reading skills, private tuition, the Latin School and the universities the world of the cultural elite could ultimately be reached. The educational system created schooled men who developed all kinds of different intellectual activities for which Latin was used. From the fifteenth century they were increasingly found in civic key positions requiring general intellectual skills. The growth and increasingly professional nature of the civil service of the developing nation states and growing towns as well as the professionalization of the spiritual, legal and medical occupations led to an increased demand for academics or persons with a similar intellectual background.²⁷

From the fifteenth century onwards higher education in Latin schools and universities produced a tradition of humanistic scholarship which was to cause profound innovations in the intellectual field. The combined networks formed by the humanists formed what came to be called the Republic of Letters. Entrance to the Republic was fraught with difficulties which only a few managed to overcome.²⁸ Scholarly knowledge, intellectual techniques and mental processes

²⁶ Based on the database of Haarlem rhetoricians (n. 25).

²⁷ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Formation et professionnalisation', 203–235.

²⁸ On this development see Bots and Wacquet, *La République des Lettres*.

were the monopoly of a select, albeit growing, group of persons who were proficient in Latin and to a large extent responsible for the intellectual, religious and moral instruction of children and adolescents. In the same period certain groups in the urbanized population of the Low Countries aimed at participating actively and independently in religious, cultural and political affairs (witness the many revolts of the fifteenth century).²⁹ However, the majority had to be content with primary education. Finding it impossible to continue their education in the established institutions, they acquired the cultural baggage which they considered indispensable in different ways.

From the fifteenth century all kinds of more or less formal associations were to undermine the monopoly on education and moral instruction exercised by the graduates of the Latin schools. Institutions like the German *Singschulen*, French *puys*, Italian academies and Dutch chambers of rhetoric established a literary vernacular culture which proliferated especially within the string of cities stretching from Northern Italy to the cities of Germany and Northern France and to the Low Countries.³⁰ How did the new literary culture in Dutch relate to the Latinized academic world? Did chambers have access to the international intellectual reform movements of the humanists and so-called 'German doctors', the Protestants? G. Waite has shown that practically all religious movements of the early sixteenth century may be traced in the rhetorician plays written between 1515 and 1550. Waite stresses that the chambers played a crucial role in the dissemination and independent intellectual internalization of reform oriented thinking, thus contributing to the development of an independent Protestant tradition in the Low Countries.³¹ A considerable number of rhetoricians lived to become active Protestant as well as anti-Protestant leaders of opinion.

What was the relationship between the chambers of rhetoric and the movement of the humanists? The humanists, employed by universities, schools or the urban civil services renewed the organiz-

²⁹ De Ridder-Symoens, 'Formation et professionalisation', 213–223. Santing, "Liberation". See also Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, 29 and 133, Pleij, *Sneeuwpoppen*, and Brinkman, *Dichten uit liefde*, 21–122.

³⁰ See, for example, Garber and Wismann, *Europäische Sozietätsbewegung*. With special reference to chambers, see Mijnhardt, 'Die Etablierung eines gebildeten Publikums', 895–928.

³¹ Waite, *Reformers on Stage*, 176.

ation of intellectual life by maintaining an intensive, mutual contact at local, regional and interregional levels. Humanists were deeply interested in the sources of classical culture. They set great store by thorough source criticism and devoted themselves assiduously to the *bonae litterae*. By their critical attitude towards their sources, their philological method, the return to classical Latin and the preference for rhetoric rather than logic the humanists developed the foundations of a new intellectual culture.

The humanistic movement in the Low Countries was also responsible for major innovations of the curriculum in the schools. In comparison with traditional educational programmes, curricula based on humanistic ideas assigned a relatively large place to practical skills. For example, by organizing Latin school plays the humanists intended to give their pupils experience in speaking in public in Latin and in using body language to support their words.³² Humanists attached great value to a broad education and the improvement of rhetorical skills. The reappraisal of rhetoric by the humanists and the rise of the Dutch vernacular literary organizations that called themselves chambers or schools of rhetoric coincided in a remarkable way.³³

In different ways the rhetorician network maintained contact, by means of a select group of participants, with the traditional educational institutions and the intellectual world between 1480 and 1600. Apart from civil servants and priests (up to the Dutch Revolt) a large number of schoolmasters actively participated in rhetorician practices.³⁴ In addition academically trained men or men from families with academic traditions were active in the rhetorician movement, both in towns and in villages.³⁵ Some rhetoricians had access personally to

³² Public performances of chambers may be compared with the pedagogical reasons for play acting by the pupils of city schools as promoted in particular by the humanists. Fleurkens, 'Schooltoneel', 75-83; Bot, *Humanisme*, 129-131.

³³ It is frequently assumed that the reappraisal of rhetoric by the rhetoricians derives from the French 'seconde rhétorique' and that it *must* therefore refer to poetics. The rhetoricians were of a different mind. They placed their art within the tradition of the *trivium* and regarded it as the vernacular equivalent of classical rhetoric. See on this subject Ramakers, 'Tonen en betogen', 178-181.

³⁴ Research into the situation in Haarlem and Middelburg between 1590 and 1650 confirms that schoolmasters played active roles in the chambers.

³⁵ Van Dixhoorn, 'Rederijkers'. At least one of the founders in 1515 of the chamber of the village of Sommelsdijk in Zeeland, the priest Jan Wittesz, had an academic background. On 29 August 1501 one Johannes Wittonis de Somerdiick enrolled at the University of Louvain: *Matricule*, ed. Schillings, III, 216, no. 168.

scholarly networks, like members of the Oom van Wijngaarden family. At the time of the reorganization of the chamber in The Hague in 1494 Isbrand Jansz Oom and his cousin Floris Florisz Oom were both listed as members. At that time Ijsbrand's brother Floris Jansz was *rector* of the University of Louvain, where the two brothers had enrolled as students in 1480. After 1494 Floris Jansz enjoyed a career as a civil servant in the employment of the Count of Holland. He was a friend of the erudite Adriaan Florisz of Utrecht, who was elected pope in 1522.³⁶

When did the chambers begin to establish contact with the new, intellectual movement of humanism? Scholars usually assume a date of around 1580 for such contacts, limited to select circles within the chambers in Amsterdam and Leiden.³⁷ In Amsterdam a group of humanists was active around 1530, some of them Catholics, others sympathizing with the Protestants. Alardus of Amsterdam, one of the two Catholic humanists, was a friend of the Meyster family of humanists in Haarlem. In a letter from 1530 he asked Jacob Meyster, the humanist *rector* of the Latin School in Haarlem, to give his regards to that other Jacob Meyster, a lawyer in Haarlem. Like his predecessor Helico van Schagen, Jacob Meyster, *rector* from 1522 to 1537, performed Latin plays with his pupils.³⁸ In 1529 a certain Hendrik Jacobsz Meyster was a governing member of the only chamber of rhetoric then established in Haarlem.³⁹ He must have been the son of either the *rector* or the lawyer, or a close relative. This means that around 1530 the rhetoricians in Haarlem were connected, through at least one fellow member, with a Haarlem-Amsterdam humanist network of a Catholic persuasion.

At the same time a Protestant inclined Amsterdam humanist network had close ties with the Amsterdam rhetoricians. The Amsterdam chamber became intensively involved in the violent Anabaptist revolt of 1535. From the investigation following the suppression of the revolt

³⁶ *Matricule*, ed. Wils, II, 462, nrs. 236 and 237. For the Oom van Wijngaarden family, see Van der Aa, *Biografisch Woordenboek*, V, 10–11. With special thanks to Herman Brinkman and Paul van Trigt for their information on the members of the Oom van Wijngaarden family.

³⁷ Spies, 'The Amsterdam chamber', 109–118; Koppenol, *Leids heeal*, passim.

³⁸ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 86–87; Bot, *Humanisme*, 131.

³⁹ Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 358. Streekarchief Kennemerland in Haarlem (hereafter SAKH), Gemeentearchief Haarlem (hereafter GAH), Stadsarchief, inv. nr. 108. Thesauriersrekeningen (1529), f. 96v.

we know that the Amsterdam chamber had relations of some sort with the schoolmaster and scholar Wouter Delenus who had taught at the Haarlem Latin School until 1527, but had been dismissed on account of Protestant sympathies. In 1535 Delenus taught Greek and Hebrew in the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric. Waite rightly points out that he was probably a member or even dean of the chamber, like one of his regular attendants, Frans Frederiksz in den Tromp. Sometimes Delenus entered into discussions during his weekly lectures on biblical exegesis with the Catholic Cornelius Crocus, the humanist *rector* of the Latin School, who would attend the lectures with his pupils in the Amsterdam chamber.⁴⁰ In the 1530s rhetoricians from Haarlem and Amsterdam also entertained links with local circles of humanists. In this way knowledge and insights from the humanist movement could permeate the rhetorician network by means of casual contacts.

In conclusion, there are indications that contact was maintained between the rhetoricians and persons schooled in Latin in the intellectual field of the Low Countries. People with obvious intellectual, perhaps even humanistic interests were on familiar terms with the rhetoricians. The evidence from the Haarlem-Amsterdam network suggests that, while possibly of marginal or average stature in the classical Republic of Letters, these persons were of central importance in the vernacular chambers of rhetoric. This is hardly surprising as people with a classical and academic background must have had an intellectual advantage compared to most members of the chambers of rhetoric. This raises the question whether chambers of rhetoric were, in fact, capable of training their own intellectual elite. An answer to this question may perhaps be found by reconstructing the careers in the chambers of rhetoric of two men, Job Gommersz and Johannes Fruytiers. These rhetoricians were both active between 1560 and 1580, a period in which cultural contacts between rhetorician networks in Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zeeland were being intensified again.

⁴⁰ Waite, *Reformers on stage*, 85–87. Delenus and Crocus were both involved in staging school plays. See also the article by Marijke Spies on Crocus in this volume.

Educating a rhetorician: Job Gommersz

On Sunday, 28 November 1563 the rhetoricians of *De Blauwe Ackoleyen* (The Blue Aquilegia) held a meeting somewhere in the village of Nieuwerkerk on the island of Duiveland in Zeeland. In the course of the meeting Job Gommersz, then twenty years old, swore a solemn oath and became a member of the chamber. Around the year 1570 Job Gommersz entered this memorable event in his *kalengyer memoriale* (memorial calendar, that is a journal and diary combined). In this astrological calendar he noted important events from his personal life and the lives of friends and relations.⁴¹

In the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Royal Library) in The Hague a small volume is kept containing Gommersz' literary works, written during his membership of the Nieuwerkerk chamber.⁴² He composed his first refrain on 17 December 1564. It was a naughty *refrein in 't zot*, a comical text on the sentence "Ick hebber geweest dat niemant en weet" (I have been somewhere that no one knows about), which served as the refrain's *stok*. He wrote the text a year after having entered the chamber, and probably recited it during a refrain contest in the Nieuwerkerk chamber. It is likely to have been one of his first attempts in this major rhetorician genre. When writing it, he had another refrain in mind, which he had at one time learned by heart or of which he owned a copy. This was also a *refrein in 't zot*, written by Gommersz' contemporary Ardt Bierses of Tongeren. Apparently the latter's refrain circulated in rhetorician circles; it may also have been acquired by the Nieuwerkerk rhetoricians at a contest. However that may be, Gommersz sometimes borrowed sections of that work verbatim in his own refrain. In this way he learned, by imitation of an existing refrain, to explore the possibilities of the genre.⁴³ Altogether the manuscript contains fifteen refrains, one of which written in response to the same *stok*, composed in different years between December 1564 and 1573.

Two years after joining the chamber, in 1565, Gommersz wrote two *spelen van zinne* and a farce. According to Meertens, Gommersz may have been inspired for the thematic content of his farce by the

⁴¹ Wiersum, 'Een Zeeuwsche kalender', 62. See also Meertens, *Letterkundig leven*, 119–120.

⁴² Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag, ms. 132 F 7.

⁴³ Coigneau, *Refreinen*, 267.

Decamerone. The material for his zinnenspel *Van onser byever vrouwen hemelvaert* (Of the Ascension of Our Lady) was derived from Jacobus de Voragine's *Passionael*.⁴⁴ His second play, *Van menigh mensche* (Of many people) is a conversion story in which Gommersz in true rhetorician tradition exposed actual social needs. In his refrains and plays the young Gommersz appears as a local anti-Protestant representative. If the identification of Gommersz' sources of inspiration is correct, his plays show the extent of his intellectual baggage and social interests.⁴⁵

Between 1563 and 1569 Gommersz was appointed town clerk of Nieuwerkerk. In that capacity he compiled a register of hallmarks and laws.⁴⁶ Gommersz' intellectual activities were not limited to writing rhetorician texts or improving civil administration. He also developed an interest in astronomy and astrology. This is apparent from his *kalengier memoriale*, which he began on completion of his register. His astronomical-astrological calendar was used by him as a modest family chronicle.⁴⁷

What was the relationship between Gommersz' membership of *De Blauwe Ackoleyen*, his activities as the town clerk of Nieuwerkerk and his intellectual interests? Gommersz had not enjoyed much formal education. Undoubtedly he had attended a primary school in Nieuwerkerk, but it is unlikely that he was ever a student at the Latin School in Zierikzee. In his *kalengier memoriale* he does not mention having been a student there; also, his surviving texts show no evidence of any knowledge of Latin. The chamber of rhetoric remains as the only institution responsible for Gommersz' intellectual training. I suspect that the literary atmosphere of the chamber sharpened his intellect and led to the development of an intellectual way of life, which also favourably influenced his professional life. He may have become something of a paragon in the chamber, but there are no indications of intellectual appreciation outside Nieuwerkerk.

⁴⁴ The play, *Passionael: Winter- ende Somerstuc* was printed by Gerard Leeu in 1478 and 1480 and reprinted many times. 'Het Goudse fonds', 225 and 228.

⁴⁵ Meertens, *Letterkundig leven*, 120.

⁴⁶ Wiersum, 'Een Zeeuwsche kalender', 47.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 52-63.

A rhetorician career: Johannes Fruytiers

The university and humanistic culture in general were not the only forces producing literate persons of an innovative, internationally oriented, individualistic and erudite nature capable of forming their own intellectual networks.⁴⁸ The vernacular chambers of rhetoric in the Low Countries also created figures answering to this description. Johannes Fruytiers, said to have been born in Middelburg in Zeeland in 1520, is a case in point.⁴⁹ He was married to Johanna van Coulster and through his marriage had close connections with the magnates in Leiden and the aristocrats in Holland. No information is available about Fruytiers' profession and education. He knew French, but does not seem to have been familiar with Latin.

Like his younger contemporaries Job Gommersz, Simon Stevin, Karel van Mander and Jan van Hout, Fruytiers joined a chamber of rhetoric. He may have been a member of the Leiden chamber *De Witte Ackoleyen* around 1559. This may have been the reason why in 1582 Mathijs van Crenenborch, the chamber's factor, wrote a complaint on the death of Fruytiers which was printed in his posthumously published metrical version of the epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans.⁵⁰ In 1561 Fruytiers functioned as a *factor* at the refrain contest in Rotterdam for the Rijnsburg chamber *De Roode Angieren* (The Red Carnations). The chamber managed to carry off one of the prizes and was rewarded for its efforts by the abbess of the convent at Rijnsburg.⁵¹ In 1562 Fruytiers was in Brussels representing this chamber once more on the occasion of a refrain contest organized by *De Corenbloem* (The Corn Flower).⁵² In 1564 a refrain of his devising won the first prize in a contest in Antwerp consisting of six ounces of silver.⁵³ It appears that, after having joined one of the chambers in Holland, Fruytiers also managed to make his mark at an interregional level within the rhetorician network.

⁴⁸ On these criteria, see Bots and Wacquet, *La République des Lettres*, 23–27.

⁴⁹ SAKH, GAH, ms. 44-001517. Notes by Pieter Langendijk (and others) with reference to Haarlem and its population, 114. List of Dutch men of letters.

⁵⁰ Scheurleer, *Ecclesiasticus*, xxii.

⁵¹ Nationaal Archief (The Hague), Abdij Rijnsburg, inv. nr. 250, f. 65 (1561/1562). Van Boheemen and Van der Heijden, *Retoricaal Memoriaal*, 735.

⁵² Scheurleer, *Ecclesiasticus*, vi.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

It is likely that after 1564, as a result of his success in Antwerp, at that time the literary centre par excellence in the Low Countries, Fruytiers's reputation as an independent writer and acknowledged intellectual was established. Henceforth he no longer needed the circuit of rhetorician chambers to publish his literary work. At Easter in 1564 Fruytiers was in Antwerp, possibly as a guest of Marcus Antonius Gillis. In his dedication to Fruytiers of his *Cebetis des Thebaenschen Philosophos Tafereel*, Gillis, an intellectual schooled in the classics, writes that Fruytiers had struck him as a studious and devout man.⁵⁴ Gillis, himself probably active in rhetorician circles, may have introduced Fruytiers to the painter, poet and rhetorician Lucas d'Heere of Ghent and the rhetorician Jan van den Berghe of Antwerp. In this way Fruytiers became acquainted with a group of innovation minded persons who were responsible for the introduction of international literary forms as well as classical and humanistic ideas in Dutch vernacular literature.

In 1566 Plantijn published Gillis' translation of the *Emblemata* of Sambucus which in 1564 had been published with illustrations drawn by Lucas d'Heere. As an introduction to the translation Gillis wrote the first short treatise on the genre in Dutch.⁵⁵ In that same year Van den Berghe's satirical *Leenhof der Gilden* appeared.⁵⁶ Fruytiers wrote the preface to this book, comparing the master of satire, Erasmus, with Democritus.⁵⁷ A year later two works by Fruytiers himself appeared, possibly published in Antwerp by Willem Silvius. The two works were Protestant in character and meant to educate the common people in the Christian faith. The first was a metrical adaptation of Jesus Sirach, *Ecclesiasticus*, the text having been set to melodies which had largely been derived from the *Souterliedekens* and the metrical psalms of Marot, De Bèze and Wtenhove. The second, *Den A, B, C, Oft Christelijcke Onderwijsinghe* (The A, B, C or the Christian education) was a translation from French of an edifying text for young children. *Ecclesiasticus* included an Ode by Lucas d'Heere.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Porteman, '13 januari 1566', 158-164.

⁵⁶ Mak, *De rederijkers*, 183; for some unknown reason he takes Fruytiers for the printer.

⁵⁷ Coigneau, *Refreinen*, 416.

⁵⁸ Scheurleer, *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxvi-xxxvii.

At the time of his death in 1582 Fruytiers' works consisted of refrains, songs, Protestant-didactic texts, adaptations of the Bible, a satire on the Host and a few short chronicles. His later work was permeated by Calvinist propaganda for the revolutionary cause.⁵⁹ As a leader of opinion he played an active role in the Revolt, both during a temporary stay as a refugee in Emden and after his return in 1574 as *commissaris der requesten* (commissioner of requests) on behalf of the States.⁶⁰

Fruytiers gained a lasting reputation among Dutch men of letters. His works were reprinted well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and he was regularly upheld as an example to others. In 1610, the *Nederduytsche Helicon*, a volume with contributions mainly by rhetoricians from Haarlem and Leiden, was published. It was dedicated to the former rhetorician Simon Stevin in his capacity as a prominent advocate of the Dutch language. The rhetorician Jacob Celosse, *factor* of the Flemish chamber in Leiden, listed in his dialogue on *Redenrijcke* exemplary poets from classical antiquity to his own present. One of the sixteen poets from the Low Countries which he mentioned was Fruytiers.⁶¹ Schoolmaster and rhetorician Jasper Bernardus also listed Fruytiers, flanked by Wtenhove of the metrical psalms and the erudite printer Plantijn, among one hundred and sixteen exemplary authors who used the Dutch language. In this way the *Nederduytsche Helicon* canonized the poet Fruytiers.⁶²

Fruytiers' literary position after 1564 did not lead to a separation from the chambers of rhetoric. On the contrary, he continued to be closely associated with them. Unlike Gommersz, Fruytiers found a place in an interregional literary network of individual intellectuals with a rhetorician background. As a result of these contacts he no longer had to rely on chamber meetings, public performances or contests to see his work published. By making use of the possibilities which the chambers offered, Fruytiers managed to reach a

⁵⁹ Fruytiers may be seen as one of the founders of Netherlands-Israel ideology. On the development of this idea, see Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 93–125.

⁶⁰ Scheurleer, *Ecclesiasticus*, xvii. Compare the careers of D'Heere in Ghent and Jan Baptist Houwaert in Brussels. Waterschoot, *Lucas D'Heere*, xiii.

⁶¹ Jacob Celosse, 'Spel van Redenrijcke', in: *Den Nederduytschen Helicon* (etc.) Voor Passchier van Westbusch (etc.) tot Haerlem. 1610, 41–42.

⁶² Jasper Bernardus, 'Veldt-dichtsche T'samenspraeck', in: *Den Nederduytschen Helicon*, 73–74.

prominent position among rhetoricians generally and to function as an intermediary between the classical Republic of Letters and the vernacular intellectuals of the Low Countries, undoubtedly consisting largely of practising and former rhetoricians.

A second Republic of Letters

The establishment of the network of rhetorician chambers led to a profound innovation of the cultural field in the northern Low Countries. The chambers developed standards for a Dutch vernacular intellectual life and functioned as channels for the circulation of knowledge and ideas. There were links of various kinds with established Latin intellectual life, the universal frame of reference which also encompassed the world of the rhetoricians. Within the chambers older and younger adult males were joined in their efforts to attain intellectual growth. The activities of the rhetoricians can only have been beneficial to the development of their communication skills. Rhetoricians learned to improve the efficacy of their writings, to increase their vocabulary and to acquire an appealing and supple style. They learned how to incorporate, discuss and explain—on demand—information into their texts. Their intellect was sharpened by the dialogic literary environment and mutual criticism. They learned how to recognize and use different genres and how to use them to maximum effect on particular occasions or for a particular purpose. Rhetoricians frequently practised public speaking to larger and smaller groups. They learned how to conduct a disputation and how to deal with differences of opinion. As a result of this training, they became elegant public speakers, witty debaters and skilled writers.

Chambers of rhetoric introduced large sections of the community to an intellectual environment and gave talented persons the chance to become creative and independent intellectuals with a network of their own. As a result the network of chambers, in their capacity of educational institutions and social centres, was the most important element in the infrastructure of the Dutch vernacular Republic of Letters. The majority of the participants in rhetorician activities may be expected to have used their newly acquired writing and speaking skills in everyday life, as did Job Gommersz. A minority established an individual literary network, for instance as a result of successful performances at rhetorician festivals. Some eventually had

the opportunity to create a literary career outside the rhetorician environment, as did Johannes Fruytiers. People like De Roovere or Fruytiers prove that the chambers of rhetoric formed an alternative to the established educational institutions. The chambers succeeded in producing internationally oriented minds like Fruytiers and D'Heere, who, by using their own networks, reached prominence in the rhetorician world and became skilful mediators between the classical and the vernacular Republic of Letters. Such men were put on a pedestal by the rhetoricians and honoured as paragons. They helped to consolidate the position of the chambers of rhetoric as the most important educational institutions of a vernacular intellectual culture in the Low Countries.

A CHASTE JOSEPH FOR SCHOOLBOYS.
ON THE EDITIONS OF CORNELIUS CROCUS'
SANCTA COMOEDIA IOSEPH (1536–1548)¹

Marijke Spies

Cornelius Crocus (c.1500–1550) was a Latin schoolteacher in Amsterdam, a good humanist and, in his younger years, a great admirer of Erasmus. In 1535, he wrote a 'sacred comedy' for his pupils. Its subject was Joseph, the biblical patriarch, who in his resistance to the Pharaoh's wife's attempts to seduce him, was considered a paragon of virtue. In 1535, the play was performed publicly in the city's central square, the *Dam*, after a period of religious turbulence that shook the community to its very core.² In fact, when the text was published in 1536 by Joannes Steelsius in Antwerp, a short note was included to remind the readers of this period, which appears between the dedicatory letter to Martinus Nivenius, a priest and friend of Crocus, and the prologue to the play itself. The note mentions the town magistrates responsible for the events, makes a reference to the past threat of a "Lutheran tyranny", and cites the names of the young performers, undoubtedly to please their proud parents.³

The letter to Nivenius testifies to Crocus' Christian humanism as propagated by Erasmus and his adherents.⁴ Following a long discussion on Christian values, especially on wisdom, and on the idleness of riches and the triviality of earthly life, the author turns to his actual subject: the education of the young. He emphasizes the effect of good examples above words, and thus turns to Joseph, the best example of wisdom available. In presenting his arguments, he refers to Socrates, who, according to Erasmus, brought heavenly wisdom to earth. He then arrives at Christian imitation. In isolating

¹ I would like to thank Chris Heesakkers for editing my translations of the Latin quotations.

² Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 170–171, 180–188.

³ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), B 2v. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 310–311, nr. 32.

⁴ On Nivenius: Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 82, nr. 4.

one central theme from the whole story of Joseph as told in the Old Testament, he complies with the rules of classical drama. This approach was more acceptable as the Fathers of the Church and other early Christian authors used to imitate the great classical writers by composing comedies, tragedies and odes based on biblical themes. Such literature was considered far more suitable for young people than were the classical texts themselves. Even immoral situations gained an educational value in these biblical contexts. Once again, Crocus quotes Erasmus side by side with Saint Jerome and Aristotle, after which he concludes with a polite greeting to his friend and a devout plea to God.⁵

The prologue resumes this argument very shortly: the play honours Christ and contains none of the vain, idle and dubious elements of Plautus and Terence.⁶ And indeed, notwithstanding the passionate scene in which Potiphar's wife, Sephira, expresses her desperate love for Joseph, followed by the very long and no less passionate one in which she tries to seduce him, the comedy as a whole is a continuous lesson in moral and religious virtue. Naturally, Joseph, with the help of a series of biblical parallels, does not yield to the temptation:

Ne sic insaniam, ut tranquillam recti conscientiam, et
 Quietam mentem, maximum utrisque in rebus solatium,
 Turbida et inquieta permutem.⁷

([I am] not such a fool, that I would exchange the serene conscience of the righteous and the mental tranquillity, and the great comfort of those two, for a troubled and unquiet conscience.)

The four following acts—the false accusation by Sephira, Joseph's imprisonment, his pious endurance and, finally, his liberation—serve as one long testimony to real wisdom as being the right path to happiness. As the prison guard concludes:

[. . .] è paedore sic
 Ad benigniorem tandem sortem uti
 Euehatur, uirtus ita ut meritur eius?
 Nam si háec regi interpretetur somnia,
 Vt fecit concaptiueis antehâc suis,

⁵ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), A 2r–B 1v.

⁶ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), B 3r–4r.

⁷ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), C 4.

Et libertatem ei, & opes, & gratiam,
Cumulatè partum iri scio. [. . .]⁸

([. . .] so will he at last been raised from filthiness
to a happier destiny, just as his virtue deserves?
Because if he will interpret these dreams for the king
As he did before for his fellow prisoners,
I know freedom and riches and honour
Will be abundantly his share [. . .])

At the same time, the play shows all the formal characteristics of a classical comedy: five acts, monologues to express the protagonist's inner emotions and motives, lively stichomythic dialogues, and above all, a plot that shows a psychologically well-founded development within the rather strict confines of time and place. A pedagogical extra is the rich variety of metrical forms, which are meticulously noted in the margins.⁹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the play was a success with Crocus' colleagues.

Crocus' *Joseph* was printed at least seventeen, if not more, times between 1536 and 1549, not only in the Netherlands, but also in France and Germany. Later, it was included in the edition of the author's *Opera philologica*.¹⁰ It is said to have influenced Marcopedi and Schonaeus in writing their *Josephus* tragedies in 1544 and 1592, respectively.¹¹ After its debut in Amsterdam, the play was performed on at least one additional occasion, to wit during the year 1558 in the town of Ingolstadt, in German translation by none other than Petrus Canisius.¹²

The existence of many editions in a period so full of religious controversy gives rise to questions about textual transmission. Were the elements of Erasmian humanism to which the play—and more especially, the introductory letter—testify, retained through the years? Or did increasing polarization take its toll? In addressing these questions in my discussion below, I will be paying homage to Hilde Symoens, whose efforts to educate inquisitive young minds are indefatigable.

⁸ Crocus, *Joseph* (Antw. 1536), E 3r-verso.

⁹ Cf. also *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 188.

¹⁰ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 310–326, nrs. 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 45, 49, 51, 53, 55, 64, 65, 68, 69, 72, 75 and 88 IV, and 331, nr. 023.

¹¹ Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* II.1, 106. Parente, *Religious Drama*, 35.

¹² *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 189. There is no known edition. On Canisius cf. the article by Van Dael in this volume.

The vast majority of all these editions appeared during the first decade after the play's original publication. They show no differences in terms of the text itself. However, some, mostly slight, but nevertheless interesting, changes occur in the preliminaries. No changes can be found in the reprints that Steelsius himself produced in 1537, 1538 and 1546, successively.¹³ I have had no opportunity to see the 1537 edition by Joannes Gymnicus in Cologne. However, the reprint by his son, Martinus, ten years later is identical to that of Steelsius in 1536. Based on that, I believe it would be safe to assume that the 1537 edition showed no differences either. The only variation in the 1547 Gymnicus edition is the addition, on a separate quire at the end, of psalm 50 'Miserere mei deus', which is the numeration of the Vulgate.¹⁴ This is not surprising, given that the city remained loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps Archbishop Hermann von Wied's unsuccessful attempts to introduce the Reformation between 1542 and 1547 prompted the insertion of this psalm in particular. After all, it does speak of offences against God, of apostasy, of forgiveness and of rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.¹⁵

In the same year 1537, Christian Wechel also published an edition in Paris. The only differences between his edition and that of Steelsius in 1536 are the transfer of the note on the performance in Amsterdam to the end of the book and, more importantly, the elimination of the remark regarding "Lutheran tyranny" in it.¹⁶ One might wonder why Wechel thought it appropriate to retain this note at all. Filled as it was with the names of Amsterdam magistrates and pupils, it would seem to have had little relevance to French readers. Wechel's elimination of the negative comment on Lutheranism would seem to indicate that his sympathies lay with that side of the religious controversies.¹⁷

The irrelevance of the aforesaid note to foreign readers, as well as the remark on Lutheranism, must indeed have been why Jacobus Jucundus in Strasbourg—a Protestant city at the time—did

¹³ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 312–319, nrs. 36, 45 and 64.

¹⁴ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Col. 1547), E 1v–3v. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 321, nr. 69.

¹⁵ *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* XII, 181.

¹⁶ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Par. 1537). Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 312, nr. 38.

¹⁷ Elie, 'Chrétien Wechel', 182–185.

not include it in his edition of the play, which also appeared in 1537. Instead, he entered two poems by Lactantius at the end, 'De passione Domini' and 'De resurrectionis dominicae dei'. These had recently been printed in Erasmus' edition of Lactantius' *Divinarum institutionum libri VII*, which was published in Antwerp in 1532.¹⁸

Two years later, Alexander Weisenhorn in Augsburg—also a Protestant city—followed Jucundus in removing the note on the Amsterdam performance and adding the two Lactantius poems. However, he also cut out most of the dedicatory letter to Nivenius, reducing it from fifteen and a half pages in Steelsius' 1536 edition, to slightly over three pages with comparable lettering and lay-out. The entire message was reduced to its barest possible essence: the eulogy of Christian wisdom above all earthly pleasures, the purpose of educating young people about this wisdom through the example of Joseph, the wisest of all men, and the reference to certain early Greek and Latin Christian poets, such as Prudentius and Gregorius Nazianzenus to justify this undertaking. This version of the letter includes nothing on the imitation of ancients, except one line on Plautus to argue that a happy end is not sufficient to call a play a comedy. It contains nothing on Socrates, or Erasmus. Nor does it include any other words of praise for Joseph, who, as the wisest of all the patriarchs, is the most eminent biblical example. It even lacks any elaboration on the perniciousness of riches, which formed such a substantial part of the original letter.¹⁹

It is improbable that Crocus himself had anything to do with these abridgements, as there are no existing traces of any contact whatsoever between him and Weisenhorn. On the contrary, it is tempting to connect these changes, especially the omission of the explicit condemnation of wealth, to the new mentality so often attributed to Protestantism. However, I will refrain from speculating on Weisenhorn's motives for this drastic reduction. For all we know, he may very well have wanted to cut costs by decreasing the quantity of paper needed for his edition.

We have no need to speculate as to the reasons for the next revision, however. This is not just because it was done by Crocus

¹⁸ Crocus, *Joseph* (Arg. 1537), E 2r–7v. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 313, nr. 39. Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum libri VII*, 588–594.

¹⁹ Crocus, *Joseph* (Aug. 1539), A 1v–3r. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 315–316, nr. 49.

himself, as stated explicitly on the title page, but primarily, because it was done by a Crocus who was well on his way to becoming a Jesuit. It would be the first time in those ten years that the text of the play itself also underwent certain changes.

In all the reprints until then, the text of the play had remained exactly the same as in the 1536 edition. Wechel's Paris edition was reprinted in unaltered form in 1541. The Strasbourg edition of Jucundus appeared in 1542.²⁰ In the meantime, the play had been included in the *Comedia [sic] ac Tragoediae aliquot ex nouo et vetere Testamento desumptae*, published by Nicolaus Brylingerus in Basle in 1540. I have not seen that particular edition. However, the Oporinus edition of the *Dramata Sacra. Comoediae atque tragoediae aliquot è Vetere Testamento desumptae*, which appeared in Basle in 1547, reproduces the text in its original version. In light of that, I think it is safe to conjecture that this was also the case with the 1540 edition of this collection.²¹ Another edition I have not seen is one that was published in 1546 by Guillaume le Bret in Paris. However, since Steelsius himself issued an unaltered reprint in the same year, there is no reason to believe that Le Bret could have had any other version available to him.²²

The boom in reprints until this point in time demonstrates the acceptability of the text to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. In 1547, however, Steelsius, who had become Crocus's regular publisher through the years, produced a completely new edition "recognita utraque et aucta per Cor. Crocum".²³ Only a year later, a reprint appeared.²⁴ This new edition, however, did not prove viable. Except for an edition in 1549 in Dortmund, which was apparently based on one of the earlier German version, no other edition seems to have been published until over 60 years later. It was then that Andreas Schottus, a Jesuit, included the play in the fourth volume of his edition of Crocus' *Opera omnia* (1613).²⁵ But that, we may pre-

²⁰ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 316–317, nrs. 53 and 55.

²¹ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 316, nr. 51 and *Dramata Sacra*, 157–202.

²² Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 319–320, nrs. 64 and 65.

²³ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 331, nr. 023. Kölker did not see a copy of this edition, and neither have I.

²⁴ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Ant. 1548). Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 322, nr. 72. All my observations are based on this edition.

²⁵ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 323, nr. 75 and 326, nr. 88 IV. I have not seen these editions. My information on the *Opera Omnia* IV is based on the description in *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 184–185, 188–189.

sume, was done with a rather different, more apologetic rather than pedagogical, purpose.²⁶

Poor Crocus. All of the work he had done in adapting his play, and still more in the dedicatory letter, to the exigencies of the new Counter-Reformation era, had been more or less in vain. Not that he ever knew; he died two years following the publication of the second edition of the revised text, shortly after entering the Jesuit Order in Rome.²⁷

Producing a revised edition of a well-selling work is a precarious undertaking for a publisher. It is extremely expensive. In light of that, the publisher must have good reason to give in to an author's wishes regarding revisions. What were these changes that Steelsius and Crocus both agreed to be so important?

Let us begin with a look at the preliminaries. Naturally, the note on the Amsterdam performance twelve years earlier was removed from this version. The alterations in the dedicatory letter to Nivenius, however, were far more significant. This text underwent a complete metamorphosis. All references to the classics were eliminated, while the moralistic and religious passages were greatly expanded. This was done primarily by adding a host of direct quotations from the Bible. No fewer than three pages were added to the first half of the text, where Christian wisdom is discussed. These pages consist almost entirely of Old and New Testament quotations regarding love for and service to God. The passage on wealth was expanded in the same way, as was the passage on God's glory:

[Iacob.I] Omne enim datum optimum & omne donum perfectum è supernis est, descendens à patre omnis luminis. Quid habes, inquit B.Apost. [1.Cor.4] quod non accepisti? si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis? Sed quemadmodum scriptum est, Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur: cuius vnus omnis laus honor & gloria est, vnde, per quem, & quo omnia: [. . .]²⁸

(Every excellent gift and every perfect present comes from heaven, descending from the father of all light. What do you have, the Holy Apostle says, that you haven't received? However, if you did receive it, why would you boast as if you did not receive it? But as it is

²⁶ *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 178–179.

²⁷ Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 209–211. *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 177–178.

²⁸ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1548), A 3r–4v (5–8), A 4v–5r (8–9) and A 6r-verso (11–12), respectively. The quotation on A 6r (11).

written, he who glories will glory in the Lord, for whom is all praise, honour and glory, from where, by whom and wherefore everything is existing: [. . .])

This part of the letter skips the quotation from Pindar on life being a shadow and a dream, and the reference to the Greek general, Phocyon, who refused to accept a gift of gold.²⁹ Only Plato's verdict on voluptuousness and Socrates' statement that his only purpose is to induce men to wisdom were allowed to remain.³⁰

The second half of the letter was omitted almost altogether. The passage on Joseph was retained with some alterations. However, everything in the vein of Christian humanism was removed: Erasmus' words on Socrates and on the poisonous nature of Poggio's *Facetiae*, the examples of Plautus and Terence, the theory that all Greek philosophy was derived from the Hebrews, and even the passage on the imitation of the ancients by the early Christian fathers.³¹ Instead, a poem of 101 verses was added, which laments at length the corruption and loss of values in modern times, and incites teachers of young people to lead their pupils to real wisdom:

Vos igitur quorum est fidei commissa iuuentus,
 Et quorum est teneras puerorum fingere mentes
 Ceu molles digito ceras, haec scripta perosi
 Deteriora, aliis incumbite, & illa docete
 Arida quae non sint & non indigna referri.
 Vt sunt quae dixi mentis morumque bonorum
 Praecepta, historiae nostrates ac peregrinae.
 Nectareos manant nam succos & bene uitam
 Instituunt quae sint fugienda sequendaque monstrant.³²

(You, to whose trustworthiness the youth is committed, and whose care it is to form the tender minds of the young as the finger moulds the soft wax, do hate profoundly those perfidious books, and turn to others, and teach those things that are not dry or unworthy to pass on, as are those that I have named precepts for the mind and good morals, the national and universal histories: they flow sweet nectar and teach to live in the right way, and show what to flee and what to follow.)

²⁹ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), A 2v-3r and A 3v-4r.

³⁰ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1548), A 5v (10) and A 6v (12).

³¹ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1536), A 6v-B 1r.

³² Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1548), A 8v-B 2r (16-19). The quotation on B 2r (19).

The reason for this is clear: since the Council of Trent had started in 1545 and the Counter-Reformation was definitively underway, Erasmus and Erasmian humanism had become more and more 'non grata' in the Roman Catholic world. This was especially true of the extremely militant Jesuit Order, which was founded in 1540, notwithstanding its dedication to humanist pedagogical principles.³³ The more Crocus became interested in and involved with the Jesuits, with whose house in Louvain he must have been in contact since the early forties,³⁴ the more he must have thought the humanist principles of his youth inadequate and naive in view of the growing social, political and religious controversies. As such, he himself became a part of the growing polarization I mentioned earlier.

Before I turn to the text of the play, I should clarify one thing about this dedicatory letter. The prose section of Crocus' *Pia opuscula* from 1612, the first volume of his *Opera omnia*, was published under the title 'Paraclesis, qua studiosos ad capessendam sapientiam hortatur, Iosephi casti exemplo'. 'Paraclesis' was also the running title of this text in Steelsius' 1548 edition of *Ioseph* (and probably also in that of the 1547 edition). Father Fabri, however, who wrote the entry on Crocus' *Opera omnia* in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, has not recognized it as such. Nor did he recognize the poetic second part of the same text, which was published separately in volume three of the *Opera omnia* (the *Opera philologica*) in 1613 under the heading 'Paraclesis carmine reddita ad eam quae in piis nostris opusculis p.77 est edita'. He merely wonders about their relationship and wishes a 'verification' of the letter to be undertaken in the different editions of Crocus' *Ioseph*.³⁵ Needless to say, this verification did indeed prove to be useful.

Ioseph itself was also altered, though not as much as one might have expected. The 'amoral' seduction scenes and the amatory language derived from Ovid and Terence that a modern scholar might wonder

³³ Parente, *Religious Drama*, 87-88. Dickens and Jones, *Erasmus the Reformer*, 293-295. Olin, *Erasmus, Utopia and the Jesuits*, 88-95.

³⁴ *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 177.

³⁵ Crocus, *Pia Opuscula*, 77-100, and *Opera Philologica*, 177-182. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus*, 326, nr. 88 I and IV. *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 180-181, and 185, 188-189.

about in this text for schoolboys, have remained largely the same.³⁶ Sephira's monologue, in which she expresses her lustful feelings, is even somewhat longer than that in the original version. The very long seduction scene is shortened somewhat. By contrast, Joseph's monologue, which testifies to his unshakeable virtue is slightly extended, as is the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, further on. All these changes, however, have little impact on the overall character of the text. The countless minor rewordings, alterations and additions have even less influence. The same even holds true for the addition of an entire extra scene at the end in which a servant and the prison guard make a final comment on what has happened.³⁷

What does have an influence is the poetic 'Brevis exegesis historiae ex beato Paulino', which is printed after the play as such and in which a spiritual interpretation of the story is presented. The story of Joseph as represented in Crocus' comedy is an example, an 'exemplum', of God's righteousness. In this 'exegesis' however, the meaning is allegorically extended to the salvation of the human soul and the prosperity of the—Roman Catholic—Church:

Aliisque mundi carcere inclusis adhuc,
 Et alligatis saeculo,
 Vt liber ipse iamque commissus sibi,
 Magister & custos erit.
 Non ut tenebris permanere carceris,
 Sed liberos uinctos uelit.
 Atque ut receptos doceat exemplo suo
 Mundi cathenis exui.
 Responsa dubiis exerat mortalibus,
 Arcanus interpretes Dei.
 Et emicante gloria famae bonae,
 Notescat in Regis domo.
 Placitusque Regis spiritus prudentiae
 Sumatur in regni ducem.
 Possessionis regiae princeps eat,
 Praefectus in magna domo.
 Nam uir bonus prudensque rector ipse sui, &
 Ecclesiae nauem reget.³⁸

³⁶ Parente, *Religious Drama*, 31 and 34–35.

³⁷ Crocus, *Joseph* (Antw. 1548), B 6r (27), B 8v (32), C 3v (38), D 8v–E 1r (64–65), and E 2v–r (67–68), respectively.

³⁸ Crocus, *Joseph* (Antw. 1548), E 3r–5r (69–73). The quotation on E 4r (71). Cf. also Parente, *Religious Drama*, 72–73 and 85.

(To others, who are still confined in the world's prison,
 and chained to temporality,
 he will be, as soon as he is free and restored to himself,
 a master and a guardian.
 Not to desire that those who are chained stay in dark dungeons,
 but that they be free.
 And to teach by his own example those who come to him
 to loosen their worldly chains.
 To give as God's secret spokesman the answers
 to wavering mortals.
 And to become known through the radiant glory of his good fame
 in the house of the Lord.
 And to be raised as the spirit of wisdom, so pleasant to the Lord,
 to the leadership of the realm.
 To go around as the prince of the royal reign,
 the prefect of His great house.
 Because, being a good man and a wise leader, he will govern himself
 as well as the ship of the Church.)

This poem was originally written by Saint Paulinus of Nola (353–431) and adapted by Crocus—"adiectis nonnullis mutatis pauculis, omissis non paucis, quae apud autorem videantur"³⁹—undoubtedly to comply with his new, Jesuit, convictions.

I regret to say that I must end my article with another criticism of Father Fabri's entry on Crocus in the *Bibliotheca Belgica*. His statement, "Crocus jésuite n'a rien écrit", is simply not true. If Crocus had not yet formally entered the Societas Jesu at the time he revised his *Ioseph*, he had certainly done so spiritually. The hypothesis that it was an overzealous Andreas Schottus who, in preparing the edition of Crocus' *Opera*, had "rather intensively modified the original text" and in doing so adapted it to the new circumstances at the beginning of the seventeenth century is incorrect.⁴⁰ It was Crocus himself who did so, and it was the circumstances of half a century earlier—circumstances to which his own personal development was inextricably connected—that must have prompted him.

³⁹ Crocus, *Ioseph* (Antw. 1548), E 3r (69).

⁴⁰ *Bibliotheca Belgica* VI, 179 n. 12, and 188–189.

THE BOOKKEEPER'S TALE. LEARNING MERCHANT SKILLS IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Karel Davids

Merchants in the early modern period were expected to possess a wide range of skills. These skills did not form a uniform, changeless package, however, nor were they all learned in the same way. In a synoptic essay published a few years ago, Pierre Jeannin pointed out that the assortment of desirable capacities and qualifications for merchants may be differentiated in various ways. Some may be regarded as prerequisites for conducting the merchant's trade itself, such as knowledge of the prices and qualities of commodities and their markets, which were mainly learned in practice. However, according to Jeannin, in order to qualify for a higher status "le marchand devait disposer d'un bagage intellectuel moins sommaire", which in any case included competence in arithmetic and in addition could comprise such skills as proficiency in various languages, a knowledge of geography and an acquaintance with different legal customs. Finally, there were "les savoirs spécifique mercantiles", which notably consisted of a sound expertise of the use of bills of exchange and a thorough competence in the art of bookkeeping, in particular the art of doing the books "in the Italian manner" by making debit and credit entries for each transaction in an interlocking system of registers. These advanced skills were partly picked up in practice, partly acquired at school.¹ This article will focus on one of those 'specific' mercantile skills distinguished by Jeannin, the art of bookkeeping. More specifically, it will address the question, when, how and why educational structures in the Northern Netherlands originated through which knowledge of the art of bookkeeping was transmitted in a formal, curricular fashion.

The birthplace of formal education in the art of bookkeeping was, of course, Northern Italy. From about 1300 onwards, many cities in

¹ Jeannin, 'Distinction des compétences'.

Tuscany and other regions in Northern Italy saw the foundation of vernacular schools which taught reading, writing and commercial arithmetic, 'abbaco'. Venetian abbaco schools in the sixteenth century also started to teach the art of double-entry bookkeeping. Masters in other Italian cities followed their example.² Instruction in the art of bookkeeping by *rechenmeister* was introduced in cities in South Germany in the 1520s and 1530s.³ By the middle of the sixteenth century, the subject was also taught in the trading metropolis of the Southern Netherlands, Antwerp.

With regard to the northern part of the Low Countries, the dominant view among historians of education is that formal structures for teaching skills for future merchants, including the art of bookkeeping, emerged around 1500 and that this kind of instruction was largely embedded in schools founded by private initiative for teaching counting, arithmetic and French, the so-called *Franse scholen* (French schools). According to the classic survey by R.R. Post, these 'French' schools, which he equates with 'commercial schools' (*handelsscholen*), spread to many cities in the northern provinces of the Habsburg Netherlands, such as Amsterdam, Leiden, Delft, Gouda, Rotterdam, Brielle, Middelburg, Deventer, Nijmegen, Utrecht and Bergen-op Zoom in the late fifteenth and first three-quarters of the sixteenth century. Post even asserts that Amsterdam saw the introduction of instruction in bookkeeping in a 'French' school as early as 1509.⁴ A.M. Coebergh van den Braak claims that bookkeeping was taught in a 'French' school in Leiden from 1535, and M. Kool goes so far as to declare that this subject in fact figured on the curriculum of *all* 'French' schools founded in the Northern Netherlands. 'French' schools, in her view, were in this respect no different from abbaco schools in Italy!⁵ The Flemish historian of education and bookkeeping H.L.V. de Groote is of the opinion that in the sixteenth century bookkeeping and arithmetic were not separate subjects. Both in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, authors "of note", such as Valentijn Mennher and Claes Pietersz, combined the treatment of these subjects in a single manual and "once a schoolmaster had

² Grendler, *Schooling*, 306–329, esp. 320–323.

³ Chrisman, *Lay Culture*, 183–185; Penndorf, *Geschichte*, 165–166.

⁴ Post, *Scholen*, 65–66, 68–69, 76, 78, 113–116; in the index, the entry *handelschool* reads: see *Franse school*; this claim was also adopted by Frijhoff, 'La formation', 192.

⁵ Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*, 10; Kool, *Die conste*, 46, 376.

trained a pupil in arithmetic, bookkeeping came next as a finishing touch to the instruction".⁶

This standard version of formal, commercial education in the Northern Netherlands in the sixteenth century will be disproved in the following pages. I will show (1) that formal instruction in bookkeeping in cities in the northern part of the Low Countries did not emerge until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, (2) that this development in commercial education closely corresponded with actual commercial practice and (3) that the rise of formal instruction in bookkeeping only showed a tenuous connection with the spread of 'French schools'. Next, I will argue that the emergence of formal instruction in bookkeeping in the Northern Netherlands in the late sixteenth century can be seen as a process of catching up with the model current at the time in the Southern Netherlands (and indirectly, the example set by cities in Northern Italy and South Germany). In fact, this process is not unlike the development that simultaneously took place in cities of the Hanseatic League, and can be explained by taking into account a particular combination of supply and demand factors in the field of commercial education which at the time were obtained in the northern part of the Low Countries.

Teaching bookkeeping

On 26 April 1503, Jacob van Schoonhoven from Bruges received a licence for three years from the burgomasters of Amsterdam to teach children (and anyone else who might be interested) reading, writing, counting, arithmetic and speaking French. This permission was extended for another three years in December 1505 and, with additional specifications, for a period of six years in April 1509. In the history of education of the Northern Netherlands, the case of Van Schoonhoven has assumed a special importance. Post claims that the licence in fact implied that Amsterdam saw the establishment of "a kind of commercial school", which offered courses in bookkeeping as well as in commercial correspondence and French.⁷ Amsterdam did not remain an exception for long, however. A "commercial

⁶ De Groote, 'Zestiende-eeuwse Nederlandse drukken', 7.

⁷ Post, *Scholen*, 65-66.

school" which was similar to the one in Amsterdam is said to have been founded in Leiden in 1535, presumably because (as the historian of the Leiden grammar school Coebergh van den Braak has asserted) many parents found the municipal school sorely wanting in instruction in the basics of counting and bookkeeping.⁸

If this standard version of the rise of business education in the Northern Netherlands were correct, the implications would be truly astonishing. Modest trading cities like Amsterdam and Leiden would have beaten leading commercial centres like Antwerp and Bruges with respect to instruction in bookkeeping in the early sixteenth century by several decades! The first known teacher of bookkeeping in Antwerp, Valentijn Mennher from Kempten (South Germany), did not appear on the scene until 1549 and the number of instructors in the trading metropolis in the South only increased substantially after 1560.⁹ It is even more surprising to find a schoolmaster from Bruges teaching bookkeeping in Amsterdam before it had become a distinct topic of instruction in his hometown. Although a manuscript sum-book from the 1460s reveals that merchants in Bruges *did* train in such subjects as the calculation of profit and loss or the use of bills of exchange,¹⁰ there is as yet no evidence that anyone in this city before 1500 offered a course in bookkeeping at any time. Of the seven known private schoolmasters from the late fifteenth century (including Willem van Scoenhoven, presumed to be Jacob's father), no one appears to have asked for a licence to teach this particular subject.¹¹ How, then, may the leading position of the cities in Holland be explained?

A closer inspection of the sources shows that the historical reality was not as spectacular as it seemed at first glance. Historians of education have stretched the meaning of what can actually be found in the texts. The original text of the resolutions of the burgomasters of Amsterdam does not refer to the art of bookkeeping at all. The most extensive and specific statement on the contents of Van Schoonhoven's teaching, the reply by the burgomasters to his request for a renewed

⁸ Post, *Scholen*, 67; Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*, 10.

⁹ De Groote, 'Zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse boekhoudkundigen', 162-164; id., 'Zestiende-eeuwse boekhoudkundigen', 146; id., 'Zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse schoolmeesters', 210, 213.

¹⁰ Discussed in De Groote, 'Zestiende-eeuwse Nederlandse drukken', 19.

¹¹ Dewitte, 'Scholen', 157-158.

extension of his licence on 19 April 1509, only stipulated that the schoolmaster would have the sole right (for six years) to keep a private school for teaching reading and writing in Dutch and French, counting and “tgene dat totte coopmanscape dienen mach”, namely, that which may be useful for merchants.¹² The ensuing by-law on local education of 4th May only stated that apprentices (“knechtgens”) were not allowed to learn reading and writing in Dutch and French and arithmetic in any other private school than Van Schoonhoven’s.¹³ However, subjects which are ‘useful for merchants’ in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic did not necessarily consist of the art of bookkeeping, as Jeannin’s survey reminds us. Knowledge of weights, measures, coinage, tolls and commercial customs and practices was very helpful as well. A *rekenmeester* in Deventer Martin Creszfelt, for example, provided his manual on arithmetic first published in 1557, which he declared “very profitable for all merchants”, with a supplement on different kinds of corn, wines, butter and yearly payments, all calculated in Deventer measures, weights and coinage.¹⁴ He did not discuss the art of bookkeeping. The inference simply on the basis of the text of the resolution of 1509 that Van Schoonhoven in the first decade of the sixteenth century started the instruction of bookkeeping in Amsterdam, is, therefore, not warranted.

Leiden has to relinquish its claims as well. The school regulation of 1535, on which Post’s and Coebergh van den Braak’s claims are based, did not concern the establishment a kind of ‘commercial school’, nor did it contain any reference to the art of bookkeeping. In order to protect the municipal school, the regulation stated, no one would be allowed to found a private school unless he or she had been examined and admitted by the municipal authorities; teaching at private schools could include reading and writing Dutch, speaking French, arithmetic and counting with tokens (“legghen mit penninghen”), but should not comprise instruction in Latin for children over eight years old, except if the teacher paid five *stuivers* (per pupil) every three months to the rector of the municipal school.¹⁵ “Legghen

¹² Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Burgemeesters, Groot Memoriaal, inv. nr. 1, f. 257r., 19 Apr. 1509.

¹³ Breen (ed.), *Rechtsbronnen*, 464–465.

¹⁴ Creszfelt, *Arithmetica*.

¹⁵ The full text of the *Ordonnancie van de schoole* of 30 July 1535 can be found in Coebergh van den Braak, *Zes eeuwen*, 177–178.

mit penninghen” was simply the traditional technique of counting.¹⁶ No more, no less. There is no indication that schoolmaster Mathys Mintens from Antwerp was mistaken when he stated in a petition for admission submitted to the city government in 1576 that bookkeeping was one of the “scientien” not taught in Leiden.¹⁷ Evidence for formal instruction in the art of bookkeeping in any other city in the Northern Netherlands before the middle of the 1570s has not been forthcoming either.

It is precisely in the middle of the 1570s that we first find proof of the introduction of courses on bookkeeping in cities in Holland. Before moving to Leiden in 1576, Mintens had—among other subjects—for two years taught the art of bookkeeping in Delft.¹⁸ Bartholomeus Cloot, an immigrant from Antwerp since 1574, in all probability also offered instruction in this subject in this city. After all, he was the author of a short manual on bookkeeping published in 1582, which was dedicated to the burgomasters of Delft.¹⁹ In the next two decades, Cloot was joined by schoolmasters Martin Wentzeslaus, Catharina van Spoelberch and Felix van Sambix, who continued the tradition of instruction in bookkeeping in Delft uninterruptedly into the 1640s.²⁰ It is in the middle of the seventies, too, that we are on firmer ground with respect to the subjects of commercial education in Amsterdam. Claes Pietersz (Nicolaus Petri), who before 1567 had established himself as a private teacher of arithmetic in Amsterdam, in 1576 published a manual on bookkeeping in the Italian manner, “very profitable for merchants”. Revised and expanded editions of this book appeared in 1588 and 1595. Moreover, Pietersz’s manual on arithmetic, first published in 1567, was also provided with an abstract of his treatise on bookkeeping from its revised version of 1583 onwards.²¹ There can, therefore, be no doubt

¹⁶ Kool, *Die conste*, 27–34.

¹⁷ The text of his petition is included in Briels, ‘Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten’, (1973), 293.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Cloot, *Corte maniere*; De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 180–191; Briels, ‘Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten’, (1972), 295–296.

²⁰ Briels, ‘Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten’, (1973), 263–264, 271; De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 191–192.

²¹ Burger, *Amsterdamsche rekenmeesters*, 3–19; De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 157–180.

that from at least the mid-1570s onwards Pietersz taught the art of bookkeeping in Amsterdam and continued to do so until his death in 1602. By the second decade of the seventeenth century Amsterdam already boasted a number of teachers who offered courses on bookkeeping (and often composed their own manuals on the subject as well), including Willem Bartjens, Anthoni Smijters, Jan Willemsz, Hendrick Wanighen, Johannes Buingha and Sybrand Hansz Cardinael.²²

From the 1580s onwards, this new speciality in commercial education spread to an ever greater number of cities in the maritime and inland parts of the United Provinces. Jacob Cornelisz, who had worked as a substitute master with Mathys Mintens, in 1584 asked permission from the municipal authorities in Leiden to set up his own school for instruction in French, arithmetic and bookkeeping "in the Italian manner".²³ Elcie Mellema and Coenraet van Houcke entered the Leiden market for commercial education in the 1590s.²⁴ Before moving to Leiden, Mellema had already been teaching in Haarlem since the early eighties and had published a very clearly structured manual on the art of bookkeeping in 1590, which was partly based on his experience in Antwerp.²⁵ Leiden's gain did not spell the end of instruction in bookkeeping in Haarlem. Between 1596 and 1611, the Haarlem burgomasters gave permission to four other schoolmasters to start courses in bookkeeping.²⁶ Rotterdam saw the arrival of its first teacher of bookkeeping, Aert van Meldert, about 1585.²⁷ Middelburg received its first instructor in bookkeeping about 1595 and Deventer in 1599 or 1600.²⁸ Dordrecht followed in 1607 with the admission of Paulus Eelbo and Zwolle boasted instruction in bookkeeping by the famous Willem Bartjens (who had moved

²² Ten Have, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 29–38, 53, 60–64; Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972), 113, (1972), 270, 288; Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 198–200; De Groot, 'Zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse boekhoudkundigen', 168.

²³ Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972), 135.

²⁴ De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 200; Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972), 121.

²⁵ De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 200; Mellema, *Boeckhouder*, 'Voor-reden ende instructie van desen Boeckhouder'.

²⁶ Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, 287–288.

²⁷ Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972), 131; evidence that Van Meldert taught bookkeeping can be found in Mellema, *Boeckhouder*, 'Voor-reden ende instructie van desen Boeckhouder'.

²⁸ Ten Have, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 38–39; Van Doorninck, 'Bouwstoffen', 51.

there from Amsterdam) after 1618.²⁹ Evidence for the introduction of courses on this subject in Utrecht can be found in 1624, in Arnhem before 1660 and in Gouda in 1668.³⁰ This survey is by no means exhaustive.

Teaching and practice

The absence of formal instruction in bookkeeping in cities in the Northern Netherlands before the middle of the 1570s in fact makes more sense than the inflated version of its importance which it has usually received in histories of education. The evidence, which is available with regard to the way in which merchants from Holland or the Hansa cities on the river IJssel in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries actually practised their trade, does not suggest that they had received a high level of formal training in the art of bookkeeping. Merchants *did* keep accounts of their dealings, but the manner in which they did so (or had someone else do it) was often erratic and not seldom unsystematic. Double-entry bookkeeping in the Italian style was not used by merchants from these parts of the Low Countries before the end of the 1570s.³¹ Claes Pietersz remarked that bookkeeping in the Italian manner in the middle of the seventies was not yet very common.³² An early example has purportedly been found in the accounts drawn up in 1584 by Jan Janssen van Grafhorst, factor of the trading firm established in Lisbon by the Kampen merchants Cunertorf and Snell.³³

Formal instruction in bookkeeping was, as far as we know, not yet considered an essential part of the training of a future merchant

²⁹ Gemeentearchief Dordrecht (GA Dordrecht), Curatoren Latijnse school, inv. nr. 1, f. 21; Ten Have, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 53; Riemens, *Esquisse*, 107.

³⁰ De Booy, *Kweekhoven*, 138; Ten Have, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 55; Riemens, *Esquisse*, 95.

³¹ Brünner, 'Een Hoornsch koopmansboek', esp. 8; Nanninga Uiterdijk (ed.), *Een Kamper handelshuis*, LXXXVIII–LXXXIX; Van Gelder, 'Recente gegevens omtrent de 16^e eeuwse koopman', 363–366; Posthumus, *De oosterse handel*, 19–22.

³² Pietersz, *Practique*, dedication to the burgomasters, aldermen and council of Amsterdam.

³³ Christensen, *Dutch trade to the Baltic*, 128–132, based on Nanninga Uiterdijk (ed.), *Een Kamper handelshuis*, 439–479; but his conclusion has not been proven beyond doubt, as the underlying registers of Jan Janssen's account have not been preserved.

before 1580 either. Steven van der Haghen from Amersfoort, who rose to be one of the leading commanders of the Dutch East-India Company, relates in his autobiography that his grandfather and father in the early 1570s made sure that he was educated in Latin and writing and was apprenticed with a merchant in Ypres to learn the tricks of the trade, but he nowhere refers to formal training in bookkeeping.³⁴ Gerardus Schepens from Dordrecht, born in 1556, who was destined to be a merchant but ended up as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, tells us in his memoirs that he learned French and arithmetic at school before he was eleven years old, but had then been apprenticed with a cooper as part of his training for his father's business, the wine trade.³⁵ Knowledge of the making of barrels was at the time apparently considered to be more important than skill in keeping the books.

In their neglect of bookkeeping, cities in the northern part of the Low Countries had for most of the sixteenth century more in common with cities in the area of the Hanseatic League than with a burgeoning metropolis like Antwerp. In Hansa cities in North Germany and the Baltic lands hardly any elements of formal instruction in bookkeeping are found before the end of the sixteenth century. With the exception of Erhart von Ellenbogen's *Buchhalten auff Preussische münze und gewicht* (1538) and Sebastian Gammersfelder's *Buchhalten Durch zwey Bücher nach Italianischer Art und weise gestellt* (1570), whose authors both worked as *Rechenmeister* in Danzig, no manuals on bookkeeping were published by schoolmasters resident in Hanseatic cities until the 1590s. In fact Gammersfelder, who originated from Passau (South Germany), is said to have been the very first teacher of arithmetic to have provided formal training in bookkeeping in any city on the Baltic coast. It was not until the last decade of the sixteenth century that this type of formal instruction in Hansa cities, with Danzig and Hamburg in the lead, really began to expand.³⁶

As for the Northern Netherlands, the virtual absence of this kind of instruction corresponded with a commercial practice in which merchant's accounts commonly were kept in an opaque, often erratic way. Double-entry bookkeeping in the Italian manner was not adopted

³⁴ Tiele (ed.), 'Steven van der Haghen's avonturen', 377–378.

³⁵ GA Dordrecht, Balen, inv. nr. 20, 'Memorien van mijn geslacht geschreven den 2 desember 1609'.

³⁶ Jeannin, 'Das Handbuch', 103, 111; Penndorf, *Geschichte*, 107–156.

by merchants in the Hanseatic orbit until the end of the sixteenth century. It is perhaps revealing that a Lübeck merchant, Herman Boeleman, in 1570 sent for a schoolmaster from Antwerp, Hercules de Cordes, to put his bookkeeping in order. The author of the classic survey on the history of bookkeeping in Germany suggested that “undoubtedly” immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, together with Portuguese Jews, introduced double-entry bookkeeping in Hamburg.³⁷ In other words, where the scope of formal commercial education and the practice of bookkeeping is concerned, Hansa cities in North Germany and the Baltic lands finally began to catch up by the end of the sixteenth century with South Germany and the Southern Netherlands, which had already started to adopt the Italian model a few decades before.

The structure of instruction

Contrary to what is commonly assumed, the spread of formal instruction in bookkeeping in the Northern Netherlands after the last quarter of the sixteenth century was not just a simple extension of a schooling system that by and large had already come into place before 1500. More specifically, the diffusion of formal instruction in bookkeeping was not as closely linked to the spread of schools for teaching French as is often taken for granted. Instruction in French did not invariably go together with instruction in bookkeeping, nor did the reverse hold true.

The first national inquiry into the Dutch educational system conducted in 1799 revealed that of the twenty-nine ‘French’ schools for which specific data on the curriculum were known, no more than seven offered (in addition to French) training in bookkeeping, as against twenty-three which also included instruction in arithmetic, and seventeen which provided a course in geography.³⁸ Clearly even at the time when this type of school was in full bloom, bookkeeping was by no means a normal part of the curriculum. It may be assumed that at the time at issue here, two centuries before the inquiry of

³⁷ Mickwitz, *Aus Revaler Handelsbücher*, 188–207; Jeannin, ‘Distinction’, 389; De Groote, ‘Zestiende-eeuwse boekhoudkundigen’, 148–149; Penndorf, *Geschichte*, 149.

³⁸ Frijhoff, ‘La formation’, 192–193.

1799, the situation was not significantly different. Of the seventy-one schoolmasters who emigrated from the Southern Netherlands between c.1570–1630 and are known to have taught French in a city in the Northern Netherlands, no more than ten also gave instruction in bookkeeping.³⁹ Also, of the twelve schoolmasters who between 1589 and 1620 received permission from the burgomasters of Haarlem to provide instruction in French, only four were licensed to teach bookkeeping as well.⁴⁰

It should be noted, however, that instructors of bookkeeping did not always offer courses in writing or speaking French. This especially appears to have been a rare combination in Amsterdam. The pioneer of bookkeeping instruction in Amsterdam, Claes Pietersz, never described himself as a teacher of French, nor did most of his illustrious successors in the seventeenth century, like Willemsz, Waningen, Cardinael, Buingha, Claes Hendricksz Gietermaker, and Abraham de Graaf.⁴¹ In Amsterdam, a schoolmaster like Willem Bartjens, who in addition to teaching reading, writing and counting gave instruction in speaking and writing French, was the exception rather than the rule. The reason was no doubt that the market for bookkeeping instruction in Amsterdam after 1600 expanded to such an extent that many schoolmasters in this city were able to specialize in a particular branch of teaching to a greater degree than instructors in smaller towns or in the countryside could afford. In 1696, an Amsterdam teacher even advertised in the local newspaper with a special course on keeping the books aboard East-Indiamen (*Oost-Indisch scheepsboekhouden*), which he claimed to be particularly useful for those who wished to enroll as assistant-merchants in the service of the Dutch East-India Company.⁴² The branch of teaching in which these schoolmasters preferred to specialize was a combination of subjects that all required mathematical competence rather than a mixture of bookkeeping and some additional linguistic skills such as speaking and writing French. Claes Pietersz combined the instruction of bookkeeping with teaching arithmetic and in addition published a manual on the use of celestial and terrestrial globes. In the

³⁹ Based on Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten'.

⁴⁰ Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, 287–288.

⁴¹ Burger, *Amsterdamsche rekenmeesters*, 3–19; Davids et al., 'Van Lastman tot Gietermaker'; Davids, 'Ondernemers'.

⁴² Van Nierop, 'Advertenties', (1930), 277–278.

seventeenth century, it was not unusual for teachers of bookkeeping in Amsterdam to offer courses on surveying, gauging or the art of navigation as well. And *pace* H.L.V. de Groote, teachers normally did *not* combine arithmetic and bookkeeping in a single manual. In this respect, Pietersz was the exception rather than the rule.

There is another way in which the rise of formal instruction in bookkeeping introduced a novel element into the structure of commercial education. The intended audience of this kind of instruction was not restricted to specific age groups. Whereas 'French' schools in the early modern period are said to have aimed at pupils between six and fifteen years of age,⁴³ courses in bookkeeping were given to adults as well as to adolescents. Hendrick Waninghen's classes in bookkeeping in 1609, for instance, were scheduled at such a time of the day that pupils of various age groups must have been able to attend. While the mornings (nine to twelve) and the afternoons (one to four) were devoted to lessons on writing and counting, the early evenings (four to seven) were exclusively reserved for instruction in bookkeeping.⁴⁴ Merchants, cashiers, clerks, agents and people of similar description, who around 1600 were routinely mentioned as the intended users of manuals on bookkeeping, could attend evening classes on the subject therefore after the end of their working day. Custom-made courses for adults became available as well.⁴⁵

Catching up

The fact that there is evidence in the last quarter of the sixteenth century of a similar process of catching up in the Northern Netherlands and cities in North Germany and the Baltic lands with southern precursors can to some extent be explained by similar causes. Like Danzig or Hamburg, cities in the Northern Netherlands witnessed an influx of teachers from regions where the instruction and practice of bookkeeping had already evolved much further in the direction of the Italian model. The supply of experts in bookkeeping in the Italian manner quite suddenly increased drastically. The majority of known instructors of bookkeeping in cities of the United Provinces

⁴³ Esseboom, *Onderwijsinghe*, 299–300; Kool, *Die conste*, 55.

⁴⁴ Waninghen, *Tresoor*, last page.

⁴⁵ An example from 1668 in Van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen*, 791 no. 1659.

up to the 1610s consisted of immigrants from Flanders or Brabant, most of all from the city of Antwerp. Likewise, the bulk of the manuals on bookkeeping that appeared in print or circulated in manuscript in the Northern Netherlands in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries was composed by immigrant teachers from the Southern Netherlands. The first teachers from the North who published their own manuals on the subject still show a healthy respect for the achievements of their predecessors in the South. Pietersz was to some extent influenced by the example of Mennher, Mellema reserved much praise for a number of experts from Flanders or Brabant (including Simon Stevin from Bruges, who at the time had not even published on the subject at all), and Waninghen not only borrowed the method of presentation in the form of queries and answers in his *Tresoor van 't Italiaens boeck-houden* (1609) from the treatise on bookkeeping included in Stevin's *Wisconstighe ghedachtenissen*, but even dedicated the manual to "myn heer Sijmon Stevinus", mathematician in the service of Prince Maurice.⁴⁶

What holds true for the exodus from the Southern Netherlands since approximately 1570 as a whole, also applies to the migration of people skilled in teaching the art of bookkeeping: it was caused by a 'push' from the South rather than by a 'pull' from the North. Some of the southern teachers did not even go to the Northern Netherlands at all in the first instance, but made their way to England or Germany.⁴⁷ Yet, the number of reprints of Pietersz's textbooks on bookkeeping and arithmetic (extended with summaries on bookkeeping) in the 1580s and 1590s as well as the growth of the number of new manuals on the subject published by other instructors after 1590, are a clear indication that the demand for a knowledge of bookkeeping at that time was expanding as well. The fact that municipal governments such as those of Rotterdam in 1595 or Utrecht in 1624 were prepared to dip into the city's purse in order to keep or attract teachers who among other skills possessed the ability to give instruction in bookkeeping,⁴⁸ points to an increased need for expertise in this matter as well.

⁴⁶ De Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 260–265; Waninghen, *Tresoor*, dedication to Simon Stevin; Stevin had been a bookkeeper in Antwerp.

⁴⁷ Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972) 101–103; De Groote, 'Zestiende-eeuwse boekhoudkundigen', 152.

⁴⁸ Briels, 'Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten', (1972) 131 (Aert van Meldert); De Booy, *Kweekhoven*, 138 (Daniël Waterrijk).

Why did the demand for formal instruction in bookkeeping in the Northern Netherlands increase after the last few decades of the sixteenth century? The first explanatory factor is the same that operated in various Hanseatic cities in North Germany, although in the Dutch case it functioned on an even more massive scale: the huge migration of merchants from the Southern Netherlands. It is well-known that between about 1570 and 1630, as a result of the failure of the Revolt in the South and especially the Spanish reconquest of Antwerp in 1585, numerous merchants left the southern part of the Low Countries to continue their business operations at other places in Europe. While part of the 'diaspora of the Antwerp merchants' was directed to Hansa cities like Hamburg and Danzig, an even greater number of merchants from the Southern Netherlands sooner or later settled in the territory of the United Provinces and particularly in Amsterdam. The total number of merchants from the Southern Netherlands who were active in Amsterdam alone between 1578 and 1630 amounted to over 850. The vast majority of them originated from Antwerp.⁴⁹ When the Antwerp merchants left their city, they had in all probability received much more formal training in bookkeeping (including double-entry bookkeeping in the Italian manner) and used these bookkeeping techniques in the execution of their business affairs to a much greater extent than their counterparts in the Northern Netherlands or in the Hansa cities in North Germany and the Baltic lands.⁵⁰ Once arrived in their new place of settlement, they wished to ensure that the next generation would be equipped with at least the same merchant skills as they had acquired themselves. It was not unnatural that in their choice of teachers, they had a preference for schoolmasters who like themselves originated from the South. Hans Thijs from Antwerp, for instance, who had emigrated to Amsterdam in 1595, had his sons Anthoni and François after 1600 trained in arithmetic and bookkeeping by the former Antwerp schoolmasters Anthoni Smijters and Felix van Sambix.⁵¹ Thus, the exodus of hundreds of merchants from Antwerp

⁴⁹ Brulez, 'De diaspora', *passim*; Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 34 and chapter 2.

⁵⁰ Brulez, 'De diaspora', 282.

⁵¹ Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden*, 198–200; this preference for Flemish teachers could also extend to the education of daughters, Van Selm, *Een menigte*, 312, n. 264.

to the Northern Netherlands may have led to a vast increase in demand for formal instruction in bookkeeping in the North, especially after the acceleration of emigration in the middle of the 1580s.

The second factor that fuelled this demand in the Northern Netherlands—probably to a greater extent than in cities of the Hanseatic League—was a change in the scale and nature of business organisation. Bookkeeping is primarily a tool of management control. Double-entry bookkeeping has the advantage of making effective control easier by offering a clear, complete insight into the state of affairs of a particular firm.⁵² Up to the last decades of the sixteenth century, commercial enterprises in Holland were usually rather small-scale affairs, which often took the form of temporary partnerships.⁵³ By 1600, thanks again, in part, to the influx of merchants from the South, the scale of commercial operations increased considerably and the nature of organisation became more complicated than before. Not only did the Northern Netherlands see the emergence of a few joint-stock companies such as the East-India Company (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie), it also witnessed the spread of many other trading firms and partnerships of longer duration, with multiple branches, agencies and types of activities. Management control became a more complex affair. This growth in scale and nature of business organisation enhanced the need for a more effective instrument of control such as double-entry bookkeeping. Experts in bookkeeping were much more in demand than before. The VOC, the largest new business organisation of all, employed specialized bookkeepers almost from the very start. In 1605, the Amsterdam Chamber of the company contracted bookkeeper Barent Lampe to supervise its accounting at a salary of 1200 guilders a year.⁵⁴ Bookkeepers were also hired by individual merchants with the specific task to keep the books “in the Italian manner”.⁵⁵ The increased need for experts in bookkeeping must have boosted the demand for formal instruction in this subject even further.

⁵² Cf. Hunt and Murray, *A History of Business*, 62–63, and the discussion between Yamey, ‘Notes’ and Lane, ‘Double-entry Bookkeeping’.

⁵³ Jonkers and Sluyterman, *Thuis op de wereldmarkt*, 15–16, 24–31; Van Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel*, 182–184.

⁵⁴ Van Dam, *Beschryvinge*, ed. Stapel, 371.

⁵⁵ See for example Van Dillen (ed.), *Bronnen*, 241, nr. 461 contract 28 Sept. 1639.

Conclusion

Historians of education appear to have been too easily convinced that the rise of formal instruction in bookkeeping in the Northern Netherlands coincided with, or even antedated, the evolution in the South, and to have exaggerated the extent to which this kind of instruction was incorporated in existing educational institutions. They have not been sufficiently sensitive to the acceleration and innovation in the development of commercial education in the Northern Netherlands that took place in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Rather than by a sudden growth in demand for new subjects and structures of education in the North, the changes described in this essay were put in motion by the serious disruption of commercial and educational life in the southern part of the Low Countries, leading to a vast outflow of merchants and teachers (especially from Antwerp). It was only in the second instance that economic change in the North itself gave a strong impetus to this new departure in commercial education, which made the northern part of the Low Countries finally adopt the model that had previously been diffused from Northern Italy to South Germany and the Southern Netherlands.⁵⁶

This interpretation does not imply that the southern example was followed in every respect. The most notable difference until the 1660s was that instructors of bookkeeping in cities and towns in the United Provinces, with a single exception, were not incorporated into a guild of schoolmasters. In sixteenth-century Antwerp, all schoolmasters, including teachers of bookkeeping, had been obliged to join a separate guild, the guild of Saint Ambrose.⁵⁷ Although in many Dutch cities—including Amsterdam, Leiden, Dordrecht and Haarlem—schoolmasters traditionally were only allowed to practise their profession after having obtained formal admission from the municipal government (or a board of supervisors charged with this task by the urban magistrates), they were hardly ever organized in a corporation entrusted with particular powers by a public authority. The only Dutch city to follow the example of Antwerp before the 1660s, was Middelburg, which saw the foundation of a guild of schoolmasters

⁵⁶ On the influence of the Italian model on the commercial idiom used in the Low Countries, see De Bruijn-van der Helm, *Merce*.

⁵⁷ De Groot, 'De zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse schoolmeesters', 180–181.

in 1591.⁵⁸ And even after 1660, schoolmasters' guilds in the Dutch Republic remained few and far between. Antwerp's successor as a trading metropolis, Amsterdam, never got its Saint Ambrose guild at all.⁵⁹ Thus, instruction in bookkeeping in the Northern Netherlands was left to the vagaries of the market to a greater extent than commercial education in the South, and the level of competition between the teachers who operated as petty entrepreneurs on this volatile market accordingly may have been higher as well.⁶⁰ This is a topic that invites further research.

⁵⁸ Dekker, 'Het ontstaan', 31.

⁵⁹ The database on Dutch guilds at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam contains no more than seven schoolmasters' guilds (friendly communication by Jan Lucassen en Pieter Lourens).

⁶⁰ Evidence of sharp competition between teachers in Amsterdam in the 1660s can be found in Ten Have, *De leer van het boekhouden*, 64–71, and of cartel-formation as a counter-strategy in Rotterdam around 1630 in Anonymus, 'Contract'. Cf. also Davids, 'Ondernemers'.

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK CATALOGUE FROM DELFT

Sabrina Corbellini and Gerrit Verhoeven

The archives of the convent of Saint Anne in Delft contain a handwritten catalogue of nearly six hundred books mysteriously entitled *Catalogus librorum omnium qui fuerunt Delphis in aede D. Annae. Anno LXXIII*.¹ The listed books were thus apparently kept in the building in 1573, shortly after the suppression of the convent; yet the catalogue is not necessarily a description of the library of the convent itself. This article will focus on the following question: could a relatively modest convent such as Saint Anne have owned such a large collection of books? If not, whose library is described, and why? First we will closely examine the contents of the *Catalogus*.

Description of the catalogue

The 593 titles, described in 524 entries, are divided into eight categories: *Libri juris*, *Libri medici*, *Theologici libri*, *Philosophici libri*, *Grammatici, logici et rethorici*, *Libri musici*, *Historici libri* and *Libri poetici*. With 260 entries the *Libri juris* make up approximately half of the *Catalogus*, followed by the *Grammatici, logici et rethorici* (102), the *Theologici* (57) and the *Historici* (54). The number of entries in the other categories is considerably smaller: the *Poetici* have 24, the *Medici* 14, the *Philosophici* ten and the *Musici* only three.

Strictly speaking the list is not a library catalogue that enables the retrieval of a book in one or more libraries.² However, the compiler did not put together a simple inventory of books such as we encounter

¹ Nationaal Archief (The Hague) (hereafter: NA), Convent of Saint Anne Delft, inv. nr. 2.

² For the definition of (library) catalogue, see Derolez, *Les catalogues*, 15: "On appelle 'catalogue de bibliothèque' une liste, complète ou non, de livres appartenant à une collection ordonnée, classée selon un système convenu et permettant de retrouver un livre dans cet ensemble."

in descriptions of, for instance, confiscated books for which no formal order was applied usually. The books in the *Catalogus* are divided into sections, and the separate entries are clearly set apart. In most cases the compiler mentions the name of the author, the title and the format (*folio*, *quarto*, *octavo*, *decimosexto*), he notes the number of volumes (*in uno volumine*, *in quinque voluminibus*), makes a distinction between printed and handwritten books (referred to as *manuscriptus*) and between bound and unbound copies. Some entries are supplemented with information about the printer and the place of printing (*per Jacobum Sachon; impressa in Lugduni*), number of copies (*duo exemplaria*) and illustrations (*cum imaginibus*). Not only are the visible characteristics of the volumes (*volumina*) described, but attention is also paid to the mention of the separate titles (*libri*) collected in one volume. Thus, the compiler notes the titles of twelve books by Andreas Alciatus, collected in one single volume, and of ten books by Johannes Pontanus, bound together with *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius. The distinction between Latin or Greek and the vernacular books (French and Middle Dutch) is represented by the use of two lettertypes. In five cases the language is specified further: *duytsch* (*Tnyeuw Testament in Duytsch; Den duytschen Bibel; De Legende in Duytsch gescreven; Cronijcke in Duytsch in folio*) and *franchoy* (*Summa juralis en Franchoy*).

However, these formal principles have not been applied systematically by the compiler. In the first and most extensive section, *Libri juris*, the first thirty-five entries are described as *in folio*, followed by ten *in quarto* volumes and one *in octavo*. From then on and in all further sections volumes which have different formats or lack an indication of format are listed without apparent order; no alternative or substitute criteria are applied. The compiler does not use alphabetical order; books by the same author or about the same subject are not clustered or only partly clustered, nor are printed and handwritten volumes separated. The quality and quantity of the bibliographical information differs markedly from entry to entry: specific descriptions (*Opera Bartoli in quinque voluminibus per Jacobum Sachon in folio*) alternate with cryptic and concise entries (*Panormitanus*).

This hybrid *Catalogus* that is partly ordered and is partly a simple enumeration of volumes offers restricted possibilities for a material evaluation. That sixteen entries are qualified explicitly as *handwritten* or *manuscriptus* implies that the others can be considered to be printed books. The overwhelming majority (ninety-seven per cent) of the

volumina was printed, but only in seven cases did the compiler note the name of the printer or the place of printing, thereby enabling the identification of the edition. Six books, coming under the section *Libri juris* (three editions of the *Opera* by Bartolus de Saxoferrato, an edition of the *Corpus iuris canonici* and two editions of the *Corpus iuris civilis*), appear to have been printed in Lyons in the years 1514–1559 (Jacobus Sacon, Hugo de la Porte, Senneton brothers Ad Cadentis Salamandrae insigne, Hugo and heirs Aemonis de la Porte) and one, an edition of the *Dictionarium latinae linguae* by Ambrosius Calepinus, in Basle (Petri Curio, 1551 or 1560).

The books described are mainly written in Latin, but the balance between Latin and non-Latin titles varies per section. Of the 260 entries in the section *Libri juris* only three are written in French and three in Dutch. Only one of the fourteen *Libri medici* is written in French. Among the fifty-seven *Theologici libri* four are in Dutch, two in Greek or bilingual Latin-Greek and two in French. The section *Philosophici libri* with ten entries only contains one book in French and one in Greek. The 102 *Grammatici, logici et rhetorici* contain one book in Latin-Greek, one in Italian and two in French. Two of the three volumes in the category *Musici libri* are written in Dutch and in the category *Libri poetici* two Italian books, three French books and one Latin-Greek book are described. The greatest number of books in the vernacular language belong to the *Historici libri*, which include ten French, two Dutch and one Italian title.

The mention in nearly all entries of the name of the author(s) and the title(s) of the works present offers the opportunity to get an impression of the content of the *Catalogus librorum*. On the basis of biographical research on authors and the identification of anonymous works several 'layers' in the list can be distinguished. The works described are mainly from the pen of fifteenth and sixteenth-century authors—as may be expected from a list compiled in 1573—with a dominant presence of classical authors in the categories *Theologici*, *Philosophici*, *Grammatici*, *Historici* and *Poetici*. A number of entries record the presence of works by contemporary authors, published after 1550: *Emendationum et opinionum libri quatuor* by Antonius Agustin (1517–1586), printed in Lyons (Vincentius) in 1553, *Dialectica* by Cornelius Valerius (1512–1578), printed in Louvain in 1560 and 1563, *In quartum decretalium, Liber Epitome in titulum de testamentis et Constitutiones Bonifacii* by the Spanish theologian and lawyer Diego Covarrubias (1542–1577), printed in Lyons (Junta) in 1558, *Paratilla*

in *Pandectas* by Mattheus Wesembeke (1531–1586), printed in 1565 and *De jurisdictione tractatus* of the sixteenth-century Parisian lawyer Jean Longueval (Johannes Longovallius).³

A striking characteristic of the list is the dominant presence of duplicates and numerous works ascribed to the same author. R. Feenstra, in writing about the *Catalogus* in 1960, pointed to the presence of “5 exemplaires de Joannes Faber *In Institutiones*, des oeuvres de Bartole, d’Angelus Aretinus *In Institutiones* et des *Loci legales* de Nicolaus Everardus; en outre un certain nombre d’ouvrages en 2, 3 ou 4 exemplaires”.⁴ Bartholomaeus Caepolla, Guillelmus Durandis, Nicolaus Boerius and *Decisiones Sacrae Rotae* can be added to his enumeration, to give but a few examples.⁵

Duplicates are present in all categories of the catalogue. In the section *Grammatici* the *Dictionarium* by Calepinus is encountered four times, as well as the *Epistolae* by Erasmus, in the *Historici libri* the *Dicta et facta memorabilia* is mentioned three times, twice in the original Latin text and once in the French translation. However, duplicates occur particularly in the section *Libri juridici*, in which the works of Bartolus de Saxoferrato can be considered exemplary. The printed *Opera* by this fourteenth-century lawyer is quoted five times in the *Catalogus* (*Opera Bartoli in quinque voluminibus per Jacobum Sacon in folio*;

³ The first known edition of this work by Johannes Longovallius dates from 1586. Given the date of the list it must, indeed, have been printed before 1573. The book is also encountered in the inventory of the library of Jean de la Lattre, lawyer in Tournai, drawn up in 1568. See Van Gelder, *Gegevens*, II, 270.

⁴ Feenstra, *Ouvrages de droit romain*, 502–503.

⁵ Angelus de Gambilionibus: *In Institutiones in folio* (three times); *In Institutiones in quarto* (*primus et secundus liber, quartus liber*); *In Institutiones*. Baldus de Ubaldis: *Baldus de feudis in quarto et tractatus de duobus fratribus Petri de Waldis; Alvarotus et Baldus in feuda in volumine uno in folio; Baldus de feuda in quarto*. Bartholomaeus Caepolla: *Cautelae Bartholomei Cepellae cum aliis tractatibus eiusdem in quarto; Cautelae Cepollae in quarto* (twice). Guillelmus Durandus: *Prima pars speculi in quarto; Speculum Durandi; Speculum iuris; Speculum iuris Durandi*. Johannes Despauterius: *Versificatoria Joannis Dispauterii in quarto* (twice); *Grammatica Dispauterii in quarto; Grammatica Despauterii*. Johannes Faber: *In Institutiones in quarto; Johannes Faber in Institutiones in quarto; Johannes Faber, Johannes de Platea in Institutiones in uno volumine; Johannes Faber in Institutiones; Joannes Faber in Institutiones in octavo*. Nicolaus Boerius: *In consuetudines Bituricensis* (three times); *Consuetudines Bituricensis, Turonenses et Aurelianenses; Consuetudines Bituricensis, Turonenses et Aurelianenses cum commentariis in folio*. Nicolaus Clenardus: *Grammatica* (three times). Nicolaus Everardus: *Loci legales Nicolai Everardi in folio* (three times); *Loci et consilia Nicolai Everardi in folio; Consilia Nicolai Everardi; Loci legales Everardi in octavo*. Sacrae Rotae Romanae decisiones novae, antiquae et antiquiores: *Decisiones Rotae novae et antiquae in folio; Decisiones antiquae Rotae in folio; Decisiones Rotae; Decisiones novae Rotae in quarto; Decisiones Rotae novae et antiquae in folio et Savarella in Clementinas*.

Opera Bartoli in quinque voluminibus impressa in Lugduni in folio; Bartoli Opera Lugduni apud Salamandram in folio; Opera Bartoli; Opera Bartoli in folio). It is likely that the compiler described five different prints of the *Opera*, of which three originate from Lyons and two are not specified. The concision of the information, especially the absence of the year of printing, precludes a complete identification of the editions and, therefore, a more detailed comparison. But even then, as far as 'incomplete duplicates' are concerned, it seems unlikely that one person or institution owned the works of Bartolus in fivefold. Once again the question arises how and to what end the *Catalogus* was compiled.

Context: Delft and its convents and monasteries around 1573

In July 1572 Delft joined the Dutch Revolt against Spain led by William of Orange. Demographically, economically, politically and strategically the city was a major factor. Delft had approximately 15,000 inhabitants on the eve of the Revolt. The city had become rich and prosperous due to the export of beer and cloth and the regional trade in dairy coming from the surrounding countryside. In the States of Holland, Delft voted as the third of the six voting cities, succeeding Dordrecht and Haarlem, but preceding Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda. The city derived its military importance from being in the vicinity of The Hague, which used to be the residence of the Counts of Holland and was still the seat of administrative bodies such as the Council, the Court and the *Chambre des Comptes* of the province. However, The Hague was not a city and had no defences, which is why William of Orange chose nearby Delft as his headquarters in the war against Spain. The court of Orange, hundreds of high and low-ranking civil servants and numerous officers and soldiers had to be accommodated in the city, which also functioned as a safe haven for numerous refugees from the surrounding countryside.

This seriously disrupted Delft society. In addition, pressure exerted by Calvinists who attempted to take possession of the parish churches led to savage civil strife. In April 1573 a second wave of iconoclasm took place in Delft, which was far more serious than the one of 1566. The city council and William of Orange had to deliver both parish churches into the hands of the Calvinists within one year after

the transition to the Revolt. The transition also meant the closure of the monasteries and the convents, of which there were originally thirteen in Delft. Two had already been discontinued before the Revolt: the house of the Brethren of the Common Life was dissolved after the city fire of 1536, the convent of Saint Mary Magdalene was transformed into an annexe to the Oude Gasthuis (old hospital) during the plague epidemic of 1557.

On 23 and 25 August 1572 the States of Holland and William of Orange ordered 'the annotation' of the goods of ecclesiastical and religious institutions in the province.⁶ This term was used to make clear that it was not a matter of confiscation in an official legal sense. The States took over the rights of the bishop as supreme administrator and supervisor. The foundations and their funds remained intact as such. The use was, indeed, changed, but the pious character was maintained. The proceeds of convent possessions were at first diverted to pay the remaining sisters the alimony granted to them for life. Where possible everybody received alimony from the proceeds of his or her own institution. A possible credit balance and the proceeds of the possessions sold were diverted to benefit the 'Common Cause', for instance for paying the salaries of Protestant ministers or for paying off the deficit of the local poor relief institutions, but also for the funding of the Revolt, which could be regarded a religious aim because of the defence of 'the true religion'. On 10 February 1573 the execution of the placards was further arranged. In the following weeks the States appointed a collector for every institution to make an inventory of the landed estates, houses, annuities and other sources of income and to take care of the leasing or renting of real estate and of the collection of annuities. For the convent of Saint Anne, Wouter van Wijck Gijsbrechtszoon was appointed.⁷ One could be inclined to consider him the self-evident author of the *Catalogus*, but the case is not so straightforward. Van Wijck was notary in Delft, and a great number of deeds for-

⁶ An univocal decision to annotate was not taken or has not been passed down. J.F. van Beeck Calkoen, *Onderzoek*, 35-71, 207-227.

⁷ NA, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer, Rekeningen, inv. nr. 496, f. 46 (14 Mar. 1573). On 12 April 1573 Adriaan van Swieten was appointed collector general of all annotated estates in Holland: NA, Staten van Holland, inv. nr. 1788, f. 50v-51v; also in NA, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer, Registers, inv. nr. 497, f. 6v-8 and NA, Hof van Holland, inv. nr. 382, f. 1-2.

mulated by him in that capacity have been preserved.⁸ The writing in these documents does not correspond to that of the *Catalogus*. He may have brought in somebody else for the writing of these deeds or for a specialist job such as the inventory of these books, but in the absence of accounts or other products of his activities as collector, this cannot be established. And moreover, not one instruction for a collector has been preserved in which he is ordered to occupy himself with movables. That is why the archives of the monasteries in Delft almost exclusively contain title deeds, lease contracts, *cartularia* and accounts, which refer to the acquisition and management of real estate. A library catalogue is a duck out of water.

A convent library?

Because the books were in the convent of Saint Anne at the time of the inventory we have to ask ourselves first whether they could have formed the library of the sisters. Feenstra excluded this possibility altogether, and though we are not as sure as he was, it is very unlikely, indeed. Saint Anne was a relatively modest convent without a rich history, on the outskirts of the city. It was established in the fifteenth century as a house of sisters who followed the Third Order of Saint Francis. From 1464 the sisters followed the Order of Saint Augustine. The names of the resident sisters we know indicate that they did not come from the top layer of Delft society.⁹ In 1572 Saint Anne was suppressed, like the other ten existing convents and monasteries of that time. At that point in time probably twenty-eight sisters lived there.¹⁰

We get an impression of the relative wealth of the religious institutions in Delft from the first complete account of the eight States' monasteries and convents in Delft which were placed under one collector in 1575.¹¹ According to this register dating from 1580,

⁸ NA, Convent of Saint Barbara Delft, regist 169 (1557) and 248 (1569); Gemeentearchief Delft (hereafter: GAD), Oud-Katholieke Kerk, numerous wills from the years 1580–1584.

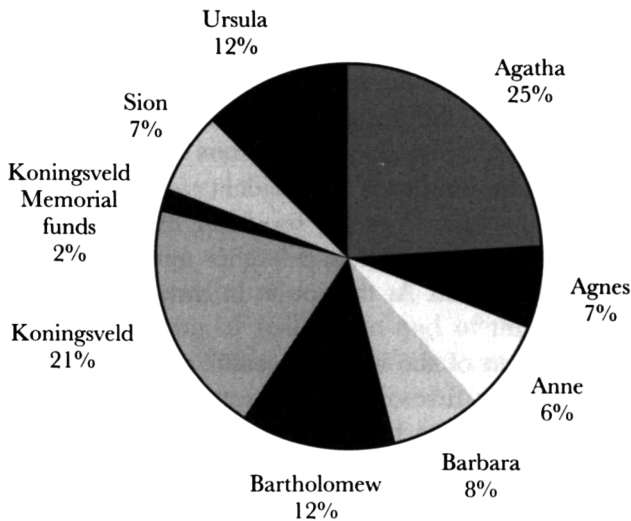
⁹ *Monasticon*, entry 036.

¹⁰ In 1583 seventeen women request an increase of their allowance; they mention that eleven sisters have died since 1573; NA, Ontvanger Delftse Statenkloosters, inv. nr. 14.

¹¹ NA, Rekenkamer ter Auditie, inv. nr. 4728. The Friars Minor, the Clarisses

Koningsveld, a Premonstratensian priory for noble women, and Saint Agatha, a large convent of the Third Order of Saint Francis, were the wealthiest by far. Together they owned almost half of the fortune administered by the collector. The Carthusian monks of Saint Bartholomew and the Third Order sisters of Saint Ursula's convent together owned almost another quarter. The last quarter belonged to Saint Barbara, also a women's community of the Third Order, the regular canons of Sion and the canonesses regular of Saint Agnes and Saint Anne. Of all these institutions Saint Anne was the poorest, owning less than six per cent of the total wealth.

It is unlikely that this relatively modest institution owned a library of close to 600 books and manuscripts. No convent in the Northern Netherlands is known to have possessed such an extensive collection of books. This does not mean that large collections did not exist. One of the largest we know of happens to be from Delft. A catalogue of the convent of Saint Barbara has been preserved, dating



Graph 1: Spread of total income of monasteries and convents in Delft

and the Cellites are not included, probably because they owned little or no properties and annuities.

from the fifteenth century and containing 109 titles.¹² And Saint Hieronymusdal, the House of the Brethren of the Common Life, had a library at its disposal, which already contained approximately hundred manuscripts in 1436.¹³ Such large collections probably grew considerably in the next century, when the distribution of books was facilitated enormously by the introduction of the printing press. However, Saint Barbara was much larger and wealthier than Saint Anne, while the Brotherhouse played an important role in pastoral care and teaching. An extensive library seems better placed with such institutions than with the small and poor women's convent of Saint Anne.

The nature of the book collection does not really point to a monastic library. The number of legal titles does point rather to activities in the field of legal practice than in prayer and contemplation. Therefore, it seems possible that the rectors rather than the sisters initially used the library, for they usually protected the material and legal interests of their monastery. Moreover, they often had all kinds of additional activities for which a reference library could be useful. The rector master Jan Willemszoon de Ghoyer, mentioned from 1477 until 1536, also occupied the prestigious post of vice-curate in the New Church and additionally was active as notary. At least once he acted as legal adviser in a complicated conflict concerning a chantry in The Hague, together with Martinus de Brielis, doctor of canon law.¹⁴ No doubt this priest owned a library, which perhaps remained at Saint Anne after his death.¹⁵ However, this does not explain the size and the content of the *Catalogus* under discussion here, because it contains many books which were only published after his death. We know about his successor, Father Adriaan Janszoon, that his unspecified inheritance was handed over to the monastery

¹² W. Moll, 'De boekerij'.

¹³ GAD, Stadsarchief 1e afdeling, inv. nr. 1152 (1 Sept. 1436): judgement by arbiters about the restitution of the library of Saint Hieronymusdal by the Brethren who transferred to the Augustinian monastery Sion.

¹⁴ First mention as notary: NA, Monastery of Saint Bartholomew Delft, inv. nr. 3, f. 9 (26 Mar. 1477); first mention as rector: *ibid.*, inv. nr. 98 (26 Apr. 1496); died 1536 at the latest, when he was succeeded as vicar at the altar of Saint Roch in the New Church: Het Utrechts Archief, Domkapittel, inv. nr. 2464/3, f. 126v.

¹⁵ The library of Cornelius Musius (1500–1572), rector of the monastery of Saint Agatha, has partly been described in documents about his inheritance; Van Lommel, 'Archiefstukken'.

in 1559, but then again no legal activities can be associated with him.¹⁶ Later rectors have left no traces in the archives at all.

In short, we have to conclude that there are no positive indications pointing to the creation of a large library by the convent of Saint Anne or its rectors. Perhaps the *Catalogus* offers a description of the books of several convents in Delft, collected in Saint Anne? This also seems unlikely. It would account for the size of the collection of books and for the relatively great number of duplicates, but the dominance of the *juridica* remains a fact that is hard to explain.

The connection with Louvain

A more detailed analysis of these legal works may perhaps point us in the direction of one or more owners of the books in the *Catalogus*. In the series of duplicates we encounter the *Dictata Joannis Rami in regulas juris manuscripta in quarto* and *Dictata Rami in titulum De regulis iuris in quarto*.¹⁷ They are probably a handwritten and a printed version of lecture notes about *De diversis regulis iuris* written by Johannes Ramus (Tack). Ramus, born in Goes in Zeeland, took his doctoral degree in 1559 and became a professor at Louvain. He lectured at Douai, again at Louvain, and completed his career in Dole.¹⁸ Ramus published his first book *Oeconomia seu dispositio regularum utriusque iuris, in locos communes, brevi interpretatione subjecta*, printed in Louvain in 1557, on the same subject.¹⁹

Ramus is not the only exponent of the Faculty of Law at Louvain whose works are included in the *Catalogus*. His supervisor was Gabriel Madaeus (Van der Muyden, 1500–1560), who obtained the degree of doctor of law in 1539 at Louvain. From 1537 until his death he worked there as a lecturer in Roman law, initially teaching the *Institutiones* by Justinian and subsequently as *primarius legum* teaching the *Digestum vetus* and the *Codex*.²⁰ The *Catalogus* mentions his *Dictata*

¹⁶ NA, Ontvangers Delftse Statenkloosters, inv. nr. 11, f. 165v (3 Feb. 1559).

¹⁷ The list mentions a third collection of lecture notes by Johannes Ramus: *Dictata aliquot in jure Rami*.

¹⁸ Dekkers, *Humanisme en de rechtswetenschap*, 110; Dekkers, *Bibliotheca Belgica Juridica*, 168–169.

¹⁹ Dekkers, *Humanisme en de rechtswetenschap*, 184.

²⁰ Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 68–69.

[. . .] in *librum 6 codici manuscripta in folio*, as well as his *Commentarii ad titulos Digestorum: pro socio, de contrahenda emptione, de actionibus empti et venditi, de pignoribus et hypothecis* (printed in Louvain, 1563). Mudaeus was responsible for an important change at the Faculty of Law at Louvain. Following the example of the French humanist lawyers, who used their *mos gallicus* to challenge the old dominant school of legal commentators (epigones of Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis or *mos italicus*), Mudaeus tried to imbue legal education with humanism.²¹ The study of law was connected to the philological and historical interest in Antiquity.²²

The lecture notes of a second famous pupil of Mudaeus also appear on the list, the *Dictata manuscripta in folio* by the Frisian Joachim Hopperus (Hoppers, 1523–1576). He received his doctor's degree in both laws in 1553 and was, almost immediately, appointed professor and began to teach Pandect or Digest.²³ His *Peithanoon libri quinque, quibus omnes, qui de obligationibus exstant tituli in Institutionibus juris civilis* dates from this period; it was printed in Louvain in 1553 and included in the *Catalogus*. However, his *De iuris arte libri tres, eiusdem iuris pontificii et civilis liber singularis* published in the same year is missing.

Apart from a number of anonymous lecture notes such as *Dictata manuscripta in aliquot libros juris*, *Dictata manuscripta in iure* and *Dictata manuscripta in quartum librum Institutionum*, the list includes *Dictata Amici in titulum de regulis iuris* and *Lectura Petri Amici manuscripta in aliquot titulos iuris*, which were written by Petrus Amicus (?–1556), who studied at Louvain and took his degree in 1530, and who was affiliated to the Faculty of Law at Louvain as *professor ordinarius*.

Under this Louvain banner we can also place Petrus Peckius (1529–1581, *Paraphrasis in universam legatorum materiam*), Nicolaus Everardus (1462–1532, *Topicorum seu de locis legalibus liber*), Matthias Wesembeke (1531–1586, *Paratitla in Pandectas*) and Viglius van Aytta (1507–1577,

²¹ Works by Andreas Alciatus in the *Catalogus*: *Andreas Alciatus in titulos de Summa trinitate, sacrosanctis ecclesiis, edendo, In ius vocando, pactis, transactionibus et verborum significationibus, Eiusdem paradoxa, disputationes, commentaria in tres libros posteriores codicis, De eo quod interst, Praetermissorum libri duo, Declamatio una, et de stipulationum divisionibus commentatiolus; Alciatus de rebus creditis; Alciatus de verborum significatione; Tomus primus secundus, tertius Alciati; Tomus quartus Alciati; Processus practica Andreae Alciati and Opuscula varia Alciati.*

²² Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 8.

²³ About the life of Hopperus: Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 70–72; Janssens, 'Joachim Hopperus'.

Commentaria in decem titulus in institutiones juris civilis), but also Nicolaus Clenardus (*Meditationes graecanicae in artem grammaticam*), Johannes Lodovicus Vives (1492–1540, *De subventione pauperum*, *De institutione foeminae christianae* and *De Europae dissidiis et bello turcico dialogus*) and Erasmus (1466–1536).²⁴

Petrus Peckius, Nicolaus Everardus, Joachim Hopperus and Viglius van Aytta share one important biographical characteristic, apart from their *Alma mater* Louvain: they left the university for a career in the central institutions of the Netherlands. Petrus Peckius became a member of the Great Council of Mechelen and of the Secret Council, in 1505 Nicolaus Everardus was appointed councillor and master of petitions and on 20 September of the same year president of the Great Council of Mechelen, in 1554 Joachim Hopperus was appointed member of the Council of Mechelen and member of the Secret Council in 1561 under the presidency of Viglius.²⁵

This connection between Louvain and the Great Council of Mechelen extends even further. The *Catalogus* lists five titles which had hardly any distribution in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century outside the circles of lawyers affiliated to the central institutions: *Decisiones Capellae Tholosanae* by Stephanus Auffrerijs, *Decisiones* by Guido Papa, *Decisiones Neapolitanae* by Mattheus de Afflictis, *Consuetudines ducatus Burgundiae* by Bartholomaeus Chassaneus and *De legibus connubialibus et iure maritali* and *De utroque retractu* by Andreas Tiraquellus.²⁶ The *Instructie vanden hove van Hollandt* and the *Stile et maniere de proceder a Malines* also point in the same direction. This is confirmed by the publications of Feenstra and Van Caenegem about juridical works in catalogues and inventories of libraries in the Netherlands between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Decisiones Capellae* can only be found in the libraries of the Court of Holland

²⁴ About Petrus Peckius, a pupil of Madaeus: Dekkers, *Humanisme en de rechtswetenschap*, 94, 110. About Nicolaus Everardus: *ibid.*, 1–36; Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 60–63. About Matthias Wesembeke, pupil of Madaeus: Dekkers, *Humanisme en de rechtswetenschap*, 191–256. About Viglius van Aytta: *ibid.*, 37–96; Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 64–67; Postma, *Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat* and *id.*, *Viglius van Aytta. De jaren met Granvelle*. About Nicolaus Clenardus: Dekkers, *Humanisme en rechtswetenschap*, 98. About Vives: *ibid.*, 100.

²⁵ Dekkers, *Humanisme en rechtswetenschap*, 110; Van Dievoet et al., *Lovanium docet*, 61, 70; Postma, *Viglius van Aytta. De jaren met Granvelle*, 35–52.

²⁶ For the use of these texts in the judgements of the Council of Mechelen: Wijffels, *Qui milites allegatur*, 249–267.

(catalogue from 1534) and of Master Hubert Schuyten Merevin, lawyer at the same Court, deceased in 1599.²⁷ The *Decisiones* by Guido Papa are present in these two libraries and in the library of the lawyer and councillor Pierre Lapostole and master Adriaen Vastaerts, councillor of the Court of Friesland.²⁸ The work by Tiraquellus, *De jure retractus*, was only present in the library of the Court of Holland.²⁹

Generally speaking, the legal category of the *Catalogus* is a mixture of tradition and innovation. Apart from the scholars from Louvain and humanists, the 'representatives' of the *mos italicus* are also present. Works by Bartolus de Saxoferrato and Baldus de Ubaldis are represented as strongly as the tracts by Alciatus or *Topicorum seu de locis legalibus liber* by Nicolaus Everardus. Unequivocally, they are works of high quality, which are nearly exclusively present in the libraries of higher courts or their councillors. Could it be the case that one or more of such collections ended up in Delft?

The Court of Holland?

Given the number and nature of the legal works and their presence in Delft, the thought occurs that the *Catalogus* is connected to the library of the Court of Holland. At the beginning of 1572 the Court and the Treasury left dangerous The Hague and sought refuge in the safer city of Rotterdam. Under threat of the advancing Sea Beggars (*Geuzen*) both colleges fled to Utrecht in July. In the course of that year practically the whole of Holland fell into the hands of

²⁷ Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 486, 508.

²⁸ Van Caenegem, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 407; Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 498, 506, 508. For the *Decisiones Neapolitanae*: Van Caenegem, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 427 (library of Juan de Senega, Spaniard in Antwerp) and Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 491 (Court of Holland), 506 (master Vastaert). For the *Consuetudines ducatus Burgundiae*: Van Caenegem, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 418 (Andreas Roubaix, councillor in the Great Council of Mechelen, died in 1543), Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 487 (Court of Holland), 506 (Master Jan Montsma, lawyer at the Court of Friesland, inventory of 6 July 1591).

²⁹ Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 498. The inventories published by Van Gelder confirm this picture. Van Gelder, *Gegevens*, II, 252 (Hermes du Bois, councillor in Tournai): Tiraquellus, *Idem de utroque retractu*, Chasseneus in *consuetudines*, *Decisiones Tholosanae*, *Ordonnances et stils de Malines*; *ibid.*, 262 (Pierre Dennettieres, councillor at the Court in Tournai): *Decisiones Capellae Tholosae*, *Bartholinus in consuetudines Burgundiae*.

the rebels, who quickly felt the need to re-establish these provincial organs. As appeals to the officials who had fled to return and join the side of Orange remained unanswered, almost completely new provincial institutions had to be set up and were established in Delft, in the immediate vicinity of the Prince. On 26 February 1573 the new Court of Holland pronounced judgement for the first time in Delft. The library, which had been left behind in The Hague by the old court, was moved to Delft in the summer of 1573.³⁰

However, the hypothesis that the *Catalogus* of Saint Anne refers to this collection we can discard at once. In his 1960 article, Feenstra developed two arguments against such a hypothesis. Firstly, the content of our list deviates strongly from the relatively numerous inventories of the Court Library from the years 1534–1570 and 1594. Secondly, it is hard to understand why the *Catalogus* of Saint Anne could not refer openly to the library of the Court.³¹ To these arguments, which are already convincing in themselves, two more can be added. Firstly not only the content but also the size of the Court Library was of a different order: the list of 1534 contains no fewer than 3,849 titles.³² And secondly, the Court did not have its seat in the convent of Saint Anne, but in the Huyterhuis on the Oude Delft, the present-day Gemeenlandshuis of the Delfland Water Board.³³

The library of Hopperus?

Now that we have established that the *Catalogus* describes neither the library of Saint Anne or various other convents in Delft nor the library of the Court of Holland, we must examine whether we are perhaps dealing with one or more private collections and if so, whose. Of course, the number of titles of a legal nature suggests that we look first of all among people who were active in the higher echelons of legal practice. In this context Feenstra suggested the name of the

³⁰ Smit, *Den Haag in den geuzentijd*, 165–167, 189–193, 288–292; id., ‘De omzetting van het Hof van Holland in 1572’, *passim*. The Court moved back to The Hague in 1577; the library followed at the end of 1580.

³¹ Feenstra, ‘Ouvrages de droit romain’, 503 n. 340.

³² Feenstra, ‘Ouvrages de droit romain’, 460.

³³ NA, Grafelijkheidsrekenkamer, Registers, inv. nr. 683a f. 24v.

above-mentioned Joachim Hopperus.³⁴ He left for Madrid on 27 March 1566, where he joined the council of King Philip II, on which he was in particular responsible for matters concerning the Low Countries.³⁵ He left his library in the safekeeping of his son-in-law Cornelis van der Myle, keeper of the castle in Gouda. During the turmoil of the Revolt he had good reasons to be worried about the fate of his collection. On the one hand, the defection of Gouda to the side of Orange on 21 July 1572 meant that he lost everything. But, on the other hand, if Gouda was recaptured by Spanish troops the library could be a great risk to him. In a letter dated 25 December 1572, he emphatically asked his Frisian friend Viglius, then residing in Brussels, to send somebody to Gouda if the city was to be recaptured, in order to secure his goods and to take the forbidden books from his library and burn them.³⁶

However, Gouda was not recaptured and Hopperus lost his library. On 11 April 1573 the collection was confiscated by William of Orange and given to his collaborator Philips van Marnix, Lord of Sint-Aldegonde (1540–1598). The authorities in Gouda were ordered to grant Marnix or his representative entrance to the rooms, the chests and cases and to give him permission to remove the books and move them wherever he wanted.³⁷

It is very tempting to assume that immediately after the confiscation Marnix had Hopperus' books moved from Gouda to Delft, where he was staying at the time. In June 1572 William of Orange, who resided in the former convent of Saint Agatha there, appointed him governor of Delft, Rotterdam and Schiedam. From May 1573 Marnix wrote various letters from Delft.³⁸ During the months he was staying there he may have hired somebody to make an inventory of his newly acquired possessions. His stay in Delft ended abruptly in November 1573, when the Spaniards captured him during work on

³⁴ Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 502–503.

³⁵ *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek* (hereafter: *NNBW*) VII, 622–623; Janssens, 'Joachim Hopperus, een Fries rechtsgeleerde'.

³⁶ *Joachimi Hopperi Frisii epistolae*, 371.

³⁷ Found for the first time by V[an] S[omer]en, 'Depesches', 398; the source is in the Koninklijk Huisarchief in The Hague, A 11/XIV I/12, f. 229v. With thanks to Dr J.G. Smit, who was able to trace the original text. There are no traces of the settlement of this matter in the archives of the city of Gouda, neither in those of the bailiffs nor in those of the collectors of the annotated estates there.

³⁸ See Gerlo, *De briefwisseling van Philips van Marnix*.

the reinforcement of Maassluis. He was imprisoned in the Vredenburg in Utrecht and released in October 1574 in an exchange with the Spanish general Christopher de Mondragon. After many peregrinations he died in Leiden in 1598 where his library was auctioned in 1599.³⁹

Whether Hopperus' books did, indeed, find their way to Marnix' collection has often been doubted in past years. As early as 1898 Robert Fruin pointed out that among the approximately 1,600 titles in the auction catalogue of Marnix' library the legal works are conspicuous by their absence. This tempted Fruin into assuming that Marnix did not accept the bequest of Hopperus' collection, although he added immediately that this was unlikely. For Marnix stayed near William of Orange in Delft and had every opportunity to announce his refusal beforehand, after which the bequest would have not taken place.⁴⁰ Another suggestion was made by J.H. Kernkamp: Marnix did perhaps return Hopperus' library to Cornelis van der Myle, possibly at the intercession of his brother Adriaan, a loyal follower of the Prince. And Cornelis himself need not have been considered an enemy of the state either: following the death of Hopperus' daughter Catharina, he married Adriana van der Does, daughter of Jacob van der Does, governor of Leiden and counsellor of William of Orange.⁴¹ Moreover, Marnix and the Van der Myle brothers had been friends since their student days.⁴²

However, the true reason for the absence of the legal works in Marnix' auctioned library is much simpler: before the auction they were offered for sale in The Hague by the executor Leonard de Casembroot. Van Selm suggests that Casembroot, councillor and then acting president of the Court of Holland, chose to split the book collection and put it up for sale at various locations and points in time in order to improve the prospects of reaching potential buyers. The legal books were sold in The Hague, the administrative centre of the young Republic, and the theological, historical and philological books in Leiden, seat of the university.⁴³ The auction of

³⁹ Life: *NNBW* I, 1307–1312. Library: *Catalogue of the library*.

⁴⁰ Fruin, 'Herinnering aan Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde', 88–90.

⁴¹ Kernkamp, 'Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde'. The same hypothesis in the introduction by Brouwer to *Catalogue of the library*, 11–12.

⁴² *NNBW* I, 1307.

⁴³ Van Selm, *Een menigthe treffelijcke Boecken*, 21; Ahsman, 'De jurist', 75.

the non-legal works took place on 6 July 1599 in Marnix' house on the Pieterskerkgracht in Leiden. The printed catalogue of this public sale, the oldest of its kind, has been preserved: it contains approximately 1,600 titles. One of the potential buyers was Paulus Merula, librarian of Leiden University, as can be deduced from a request by his hand, written before 8 May 1599, directed to the curators of the university and the mayors of Leiden, for the acquisition of a number of books in the forthcoming auction, in the field of theology and philosophy among other subjects.⁴⁴

In the catalogue the titles are divided into seven categories: *Libri theologici*, *Libri medici*, *Libri historici*, *Philosophi*, *Geometrae*, *Mathematici & Poëtae* and *Libri aliquot Musici*. The books are ordered by format and a distinction is made between bound and *non compacti* books. A comparison between this auction catalogue and Saint Anne's list shows that thirty-seven items match. *Divina Comedia* by Dante Alighieri, the works of Petrus Bembus, *Peregrinationes* by Clenardus, *Historiae animalium* by Gesnerus, *De gentium migrationibus* by Wolfgangus Lazius and *Historia Hebreorum* are among the most striking examples. The search for preserved copies to determine their origin on the basis of possible signs of ownership has been unsuccessful thus far.

Slightly more fruitful is the search for the legal works from Marnix' library which were privately sold in The Hague. In the letter written before 8 May 1599 Merula asked the curators to refund the costs of the volumes "bought in The Hague from the legal books of my Lord of Saint Aldegonde".⁴⁵ He referred to a *schedule* with a specification, which unfortunately has not been preserved. A catalogue of all the legal books owned by Marnix that were offered for sale has not been passed down either. Merula's acquisitions can only be traced on the basis of a comparison of the first three catalogues of the University Library at Leiden: the 1612 catalogue, the *Catalogus principum* compiled by Merula and the *Nomenclator* of Petrus Bertius of 1595.⁴⁶ In this way Hulshoff Pol compiled a list of twelve legal works in *folio* which possibly originate from Marnix' library.⁴⁷ When we

⁴⁴ The letter was published by Hulshoff Pol, *The First Century*, Appendix B, 447. About Merula as librarian of the University of Leiden also: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, 51-63.

⁴⁵ Hulshoff Pol, *The First Century*, Appendix B, 447.

⁴⁶ About the first years and the first catalogues of the University Library in Leiden: Berkvens-Stevelinck, *Magna Commoditas*, 25-66.

⁴⁷ The list was published by Hulshoff Pol, *The First Century*, Appendix C, 450.

compare this list to Saint Anne's *Catalogus*, seven *volumina* match completely, also as far as format and dates are concerned:

- 1) *Felinus in duobus voluminibus* (*Catalogus: Felinus in duobus voluminibus in folio*; Leiden, UB, 324 A 5–6)
- 2) *Alexander de Imola* (*Catalogus: Alexander de Imola in Digestum vetus, novum, Infortiarum et Codicem* or *Alexander de Imola in Infortiarum, in Digestum vetus*; Leiden, UB, 281 A 12–13)
- 3) *Panormitanus* (*Catalogus: Panormitanus in Decretales* or *Lecturae et consilia Panormitani in quatuor voluminibus in folio*; Leiden, UB, 323 A 2–5)
- 4) *Consilia Decii in folio* (*Catalogus: Consilia Decii in folio*; Leiden, UB, 284 A 7–8)
- 5) *Alvarotus et Andrea de Hisernia in feuda in folio* (*Catalogus: Alvarotus et Andreas de Hisernia in feuda in folio*; Leiden, UB, 319 A 4)
- 6) *Summa Azonis* (*Catalogus: Summa Azonis*; Leiden, UB, 277 A 12)
- 7) *Petrus Rebuffus in tractatus aliquot* (*Catalogus: Petri Reduffi in tractatus aliquot*; Leiden, UB, 325 A 12)

However, these volumes do not contain marks of ownership or notes confirming or ruling out the attribution to Marnix and Hopperus.⁴⁸

It is not inconceivable that Merula and perhaps Casembroot himself purchased some of Marnix' legal books for their own use. An examination of the category *Libri iuridici* in the auction catalogues of their libraries, auctioned in 1608 and 1605⁴⁹ respectively, yields ten titles corresponding to the entries of Saint Anne's list as far as content, format and dates are concerned. Casembroot may have purchased the collected works of Alciatus, printed in Basle in 1531, *Baldus de feudis in quarto et tractatus de duobus fratribus Petri de Ubaldis* and *Partitiones iuris civilis elementariae in octavo* by Franciscus Hotman for his own library. Perhaps Paulus Merula acquired *Lexicon juris Spigelii in folio*, *Consilia Baldi de Perugia in folio* and *Loci legales Nicolai Everardi in octavo* at the private sale in The Hague. However, the seven titles found in the University Library at Leiden and the approxi-

⁴⁸ Hulshoff Pol, *The First Century*, 419: "All of these books are probably still in our possession, at least, there is no reason to suppose that the copies which we now have are replacements. Every one, however, was later rebound. No names of annotations are visible." Autopsy of these copies did not yield useful results either.

⁴⁹ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae viri clarissimi Pauli Merulae* (Leiden 1608) and *Catalogus librorum domini Leonardi Casembroti* (The Hague 1605).

mately twenty books which perhaps found their way to the libraries of Merula and Casembroot, only constituted ten per cent of the 260 legal books in the *Catalogus librorum*. Nothing is known about the remaining ninety per cent.

Confiscated libraries

The hypothesis that the *Catalogus* of Saint Anne contains a description of the library of Joachim Hopperus may seem attractive, but some important complications arise. The most important one is the relatively large number of duplicates. Moreover, it is strange that the description and the cover do not mention that these are books which originated from Hopperus or were intended for Marnix. What reason might the compiler have had to withhold this information? A possible simultaneous solution for both problems may be that the books did not originate from one single person or institution. The presence of as many as five complete *Opera* by Bartolus in particular seems to be a clear indication that the *Catalogus* referred to various libraries, which were described together in 1573. If the *Catalogus* does contain Hopperus' library, other collections were also included. But why were they collectively described in one catalogue? Perhaps because they had the same destination? But if this destination was Marnix' collection then we have a source problem, because the decree of William of Orange exclusively mentions Hopperus' library and no other gifts of books to Marnix are known. Moreover, the problem is once again that the name of the beneficiary is missing.

Another, more likely, possibility might be that Saint Anne functioned as a kind of depot for confiscated books owned by different people. Feenstra already suggested this, but was unable to find supporting evidence.⁵⁰ We think we have found it in a file about the inheritance of the rector of the convent of Saint Agatha, Cornelius Musius (1500–1572). It contains statements about the adventures of ten casks containing mainly books, which had been secured in the house of the cooper Frank Janszoon by the sisters of Saint Agatha, in the summer of 1572, just before Delft joined the Revolt, pressured by the Sea Beggars. In December Musius left Delft, but he fell into

⁵⁰ Feenstra, 'Ouvrages de droit romain', 502–503.

the hands of the Sea Beggars and died a martyr in Leiden. On 3 September 1573 the casks with his possessions were confiscated by two soldiers and moved to the convent of Saint Anne, because the person in charge of the possessions of refugees lived there. The heirs of Musius, among them the sheriff of Delft Christiaan van der Goes, protested against this, because in their opinion the priest's possessions were not liable to confiscation. While visiting the convent of Saint Anne they also observed that the guardian Nicolaas Mannekens had opened the casks and had thrown the books and papers as worthless lumber on a heap. He even readily admitted that he did not value such things at all. The furious sheriff ordered him to refrain from treating other people's belongings in this way and demanded that a decent inventory was made of the content of every cask. Following a complaint made to the governors of the *Chambre des Comptes*, the heirs were given a clerk whose task it was to make a catalogue of the large books. The smaller books and the remaining papers were put away in three sealed casks. Through a procedure at the Court of Holland the heirs regained the inheritance of Musius.⁵¹

These statements provide the solution to a number of problems. The convent of Saint Anne was, indeed, a depot for confiscated goods, books among them. It may be possible that it contained the collections of exiled councillors of the Court. On 31 July 1572 the leader of the Sea Beggars, Lumey, instructed them to apply at The Hague within eight days. If they refused, they would be deposed from their office and they would forfeit their goods. Only one of the ten councillors, Adriaan van der Houff, was taken over from the old court in the new one, and therefore acted as its president. The nine others were subjected to the sanction of confiscation.⁵² It speaks for itself that most of them lived in The Hague and that their goods in 1573 could easily be moved to Delft. After all, the situation was also safe enough to move the library of the Court of Holland.

Moreover, judging from the statements in the file, disorderly things were going on in the convent of Saint Anne, in particular concerning books. The originally separate collections will have been mixed and

⁵¹ Van Lommel, 'Archiefstukken', passim. We retrieved the original file in Nijmegen, Archief van de Nederlandse provincie der Jezuïeten, Collectie Van Lommel, inv. nr. 184 D 46.

⁵² Smit, 'De omzetting van het Hof van Holland in 1572', 202–203, 212–213.

inventories were rather the exception, not the rule. Nevertheless, at one particular point a catalogue was drawn up, perhaps as a prospectus for a sale. It may also be possible that the mixed collections had to be split again, for instance to enable the original owners or their heirs to purchase back the collections. On the other hand, about all this nothing can be found in the, albeit very incomplete, archives of the *Chambre des Comptes*. The sale of personal goods was not accounted for by the steward of the confiscated goods Pieter van der Goes, but by Nicolaas Mannekens himself.⁵³ However, his account has not been passed down.

Earlier confiscations

Now that we seem to have established that the *Catalogus* refers to confiscated books, we have to take into account the possibility that Saint Anne also contained collections which had already been confiscated before the defection of Delft to the side of the Revolt, so still under Spanish authority. In that case the drawing up of inventories might have served to annul those confiscations, namely by identifying books and subsequently restore them to their original owners or their legal successors if possible.

A number of people from Delft who were driven away or condemned also had books confiscated, especially in 1568. Perhaps the best-known example is the printer Harman Schinckel who was beheaded in 1568 on suspicion of heresy.⁵⁴ As many as seven baskets with books were transported to the city hall, where the parish priest of the Old Church and the sheriff selected the heretical works in order to burn them. When on 28 June 1570 a new and much stricter decree about the purging of books appeared, a second selection of the remainder had to take place. This time the sheriff and the parish priest lacked the time, or so they said, whereupon the Dominican friar Willem van Oisterwijk from The Hague was asked to make the selection. He could also 'inspect' the books from various other properties. However, the collector who made out the account of the

⁵³ NA, Rekenkamer ter Auditie en Opvolgende Colleges, inv. nr. 4544 (account Pieter van der Goes 1573–1574), f. 121.

⁵⁴ De la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel*.

confiscated property of Schinckel, observed that this 'inspection' had not taken place yet, because his books were numerous and had been dispersed, so that it would be rather difficult to have them catalogued.⁵⁵ It is quite conceivable that this ordering was prepared by collecting the books, for instance in the convent of Saint Anne, and that they were found there after the defection of Delft to the Revolt.

In this context it is interesting that the books of master Jacob van den Eynde were among the ones friar Willem had to select. He was pensionary of Delft from 1544 (until 1552 alongside his father Hugo) and became grand pensionary of Holland in 1560. He moved to The Hague, but held on to his parental home in Delft. In July 1568 he was imprisoned on suspicion of heterodoxy and subversion of the central authorities and he died in his cell in Vilvoorde on 12 March 1569.⁵⁶ The books in his homes in The Hague and Delft were confiscated.⁵⁷ Given the background and circumstances of Van den Eynde we may assume that at the very least a reference library of legal books was among them, but unfortunately a detailed description of the property is not there. It is also not clear to what extent his library bore signs of the 'Louvain connection' mentioned before, because in spite of intensive investigations we were unable to discover at what university he studied.⁵⁸

One final confiscation in Delft, which evidently concerned books, was the property of Frans Duyst Corneliszoon, a prominent brewer. In his home the collector encountered books by Livy, the *Historiae animalium libri III* by Gesnerus, the *Corpus iuris civilis* and several works by Baldus de Ubaldis, among others.⁵⁹ These titles all appear in the *Catalogus*.

Jacob van den Eynde and Frans Duyst Corneliszoon are the only people from Delft about whom we know from reliable sources that their confiscated property included books, and what's more we know

⁵⁵ Van Gelder, *Gegevens*, I, 560–563. Friar Willem also had to purge the books of Johan Heymanszoon van de Ketel and Cornelis van Wijngaarden, but probably these were not deposited in Delft.

⁵⁶ Koopmans, *Staten van Holland*, 97–99.

⁵⁷ Van Gelder, *Gegevens*, II, 203–207. On 7 July 1571 Van den Eynde was cleared posthumously; when the confiscated goods were returned to the relatives is unclear. Meilink, 'De verdediging van mr. Jacob van den Eynden'.

⁵⁸ His father Hugo studied at Orléans and Basle; see De Ridder-Symoens, Illmer and Ridderikhof (eds.), *Premier livre des procureurs*, 267.

⁵⁹ Van Gelder, *Gegevens*, II, 120–123.

their titles. Undoubtedly more libraries or small collections of books were confiscated, before the Revolt under Spanish authority as well as after the Revolt on the authority of William of Orange. For want of exact data it is impossible to connect these confiscations to our *Catalogus*. A number of specialist books on the list make us suspect that, apart from lawyers, a physician, a schoolteacher and perhaps a clergyman were among the original owners. However, we hesitate to compile an ideal type of the library of for instance a schoolteacher or a physician on the basis of the titles in the *Catalogus* without support from the sources or on the basis of an assumption of comparable situations elsewhere. Every adult may have kept the books he used at school in his youth or may have inherited a specialist medical tract from a beloved brother or grandfather.⁶⁰

Conclusion

We have made a reasonable case for the argument that the *Catalogus omnium librorum* in the archives of the convent of Saint Anne, compiled in 1573, does not refer to the library of the convent itself. The nature of the books makes it likely that we have to look for one or more owners in a highly educated legal environment. The Court of Holland, which temporarily took up residence in Delft in 1573, can be disregarded: for the content of the list deviates too much from the known catalogues of the Court library. Moreover, the number of duplicates also points to a multiple origin. It seems most likely that the books were in the possession of separate individuals who worked for regional or central legal institutions. In this context we propose as a possible candidate Joachim Hopperus, counsellor of Philip II: his library was confiscated in 1573 and William of Orange gave it to Marnix, Lord of Sint-Aldegonde who lived in Delft at the time. We think we have refuted the doubts expressed by past historians about the execution of this gift. However, we were unable to provide hard evidence that the *Catalogus*, or part of it, is the missing link between Hopperus' and Marnix' libraries.

⁶⁰ Bangs, 'Book and Art Collection', 39: "Individual library lists appear on examination to reflect divergent personal interests and family connections, and they do not allow for generalizations on content. The representative book and art collection did not exist."

It has been established, though, that the convent of Saint Anne functioned as a depot for confiscated goods. Moreover, we have shown that councillors of the Court of Holland who had not chosen the side of the Revolt had their property confiscated. Undoubtedly, this property contained books, which could have been collected in Delft. We cannot rule out that the *Catalogus* also describes goods which had been confiscated under the Spanish regime. In that case Jacob van den Eynde from Delft, the grand pensionary of Holland, who fell from grace in the initial phase of the Revolt, could have been one of the owners, at least of the specialist legal works in the *Catalogus*. Whether the list also contains books owned by physicians, schoolteachers or clergymen cannot possibly be established in our opinion.

It seems that the *Catalogus* was incorrectly categorized under the archives of the convent of Saint Anne during the inventorying of the archives of Holland. The only connection to this institution is that the former convent buildings were used as a temporary depot for confiscated personal goods. These were not administered by the collector of convent property but by a special commissioner. And this commissioner must have been the compiler or the person who commissioned the *Catalogus librorum omnium qui fuerunt Delphis in aede D. Annae*.

TWO ILLUSTRATED CATECHISMS FROM ANTWERP BY PETRUS CANISIUS

Peter van Dael

Though someone who knows his catechism is not thereby a scholar, catechesis is a form of teaching and the knowledge it contains ultimately goes back to theology. Catechetical knowledge can be transmitted orally or in writing, but also through images. Illustrations in catechisms, however, have not been widely studied.¹ In this contribution I will focus on two illustrated catechisms from Antwerp by Petrus Canisius (Jan Bellère 1578; Christopher Plantin 1589), that have not been studied before. These will be discussed against the backdrop of what preceded the catechisms by Canisius, namely medieval religious instruction, Luther's catechetical work, and the catechists of the Counter-Reformation such as Franciscus Sounius. Special attention will be given to their illustrations.

Case history

The Creed and the Lord's Prayer belong to the earliest catechetical subject matter of the Middle Ages. In the course of time the Ten Commandments were included in this corpus, while in the thirteenth century the Hail Mary and the seven sacraments were added, followed by lists of virtues and sins in the late Middle Ages. Some of these additions were made because the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had prescribed a yearly confession, so that catechesis came to focus more on the confession and ethics.²

Partly for mnemonic reasons, people were fascinated by numbers, especially the number seven. For centuries the sevens held sway in

¹ *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, part 2, 496 ('Katechismusillustration'). A short survey can be found in Künstle, *Ikonographie*, part 1, 181–197. A more extensive survey can be found in Schiller, *Ikonographie*, part 4, 1, 'Die Kirche' (1988) 117–147.

² See for the catechesis in the Low Countries before the Reformation Troelstra, *De toestand der catechese*; Troelstra, *Stof en methode der catechese*; Bange, *Spiegels der christenen*.

the catechesis: the seven sacraments, the seven works of mercy, the seven prayers of the Lord's Prayer, the seven deadly sins. Sometimes the twelve articles of faith were stretched to twice seven.

Catechesis began at home and was continued at school. It was pursued further in church through preaching, in particular by the mendicant orders. Religious instruction also used dramatic representations and illustrations.³ These forms of religious instruction functioned as a *biblia pauperum*, a book for people who were unable to read. The sermon and other forms of catechesis became internalized through all kinds of devotions, for instance the rosary, which functioned as a kind of popular breviary.⁴

From the thirteenth century onwards, books became increasingly important in the catechesis, for instance, manuals for parish priests and devotional, partly catechetical books for laymen.⁵ In these books one encounters the familiar series: the seven sacraments, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the Beatitudes, the Ten Commandments, the twelve articles of faith.

What are the broad outlines of the medieval catechetical literature?⁶ As far as the doctrine of faith is concerned, more is said about the *articles* of faith than about the *act* of faith. The explanation of the Creed is straightforward. The great dogmatic questions are addressed.⁷ The doctrine of the commandments is explained extensively. The Decalogue functions as a penitential rather than a positive norm of virtuousness. In the late Middle Ages special interest was taken in confession, so the doctrine of sins and virtues occupied a central place.⁸ Sins are endlessly divided into all types, such as the

³ Shinnars, 'Religious instruction', 301.

⁴ Läßle, 'Katechismen', 19. The rosary in its current form, in which certain mysteries in the lives of Jesus and Mary are contemplated while the Lord's Prayer and Hail Marys are said, dates from the fifteenth century even though its roots are older.

⁵ Examples of these kind of books for lay people: the *Somme le roi* from 1279 (in the Middle Dutch translation *Des Conincs summe*), the *Grosse Seelenstrost* from c.1350 (in the Middle Dutch translation *Der sielen troest*) and *Der kerstenen spiegel* by Dirck Coelde of Münster (c.1435–1515).

⁶ Frutsaert, *De R.-K. catechisatie*, 173–190.

⁷ Not knowledge, but a pious life was the main aim of the catechetical instruction. Troelstra, *Stof en methode*, 312–313, 334; Bange, *Spiegels der christenen*, 239.

⁸ The catechesis "was hardly more than the handmaiden of the institute of confession and mainly became teaching in ethics"; Troelstra, *Stof en methode*, 344–345, cf. 319.

seven deadly sins. More is said about sins than about sinfulness. The seven virtues, lie incorporated in the Beatitudes and the opposite of the seven deadly sins, consisted of the three theological and the four cardinal virtues. According to the method of the *septenarium*,⁹ described by Hugh of Saint Victor, the seven prayers of the Lord's Prayer bestow upon us the gifts of the Holy Ghost which banish the deadly sins so that every gift of the Holy Ghost gives us a beatitude. The Old Testament was not treated as a continuous story. Some stories were, however, typologically connected to the subject matter.

The oral catechesis could be supplemented with other forms of catechesis including illustrations. I will not discuss the catechetical worth of the illustrations one encounters in and around the church in the Middle Ages, but I will restrict myself to the illustrations in catechetical books. In particular the twelve articles and the Ten Commandments are portrayed in these books.

Ambrose and Gregory the Great already knew the legend which relates that the apostles assembled one more time to each formulate one of the twelve articles of the Creed, before they dispersed to preach the Gospel. This legend serves to illustrate the apostolic origin of the Creed. In the illustrations of the Creed several articles can be read from the texts held by the apostles. The content of the articles of faith was also literally illustrated by the relevant biblical events. In accordance with the principle of the similarity between the New and the Old Testament, the apostles are accompanied by twelve Prophets (plate 3.1). Scenes from the Old Testament were also presented as parallel to scenes from the New Testament.¹⁰

In late-medieval block-books¹¹ and separate prints¹² the obedience to or the transgression of the Ten Commandments is illustrated on the basis of biblical scenes or examples from ordinary life: comb

⁹ Hugh of Saint Victor (1096–1141), *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*.

¹⁰ See for instance the Creed of Joinville (Schiller, *Ikonographie*, ill. 328–331: French manuscript from the second half of the thirteenth century); block-book from Bavaria, c.1440 (Kristeller, *Symbolum*); *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel des christlichen Glaubens*, printed in Ulm in 1485 (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 85, 81–86).

¹¹ A *Seelentrost* (Augsburg 1478) (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 82, 126–132), a *Seelentrost*, (Cologne, Ludwig von Renchen, 1484) (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 85, 33–34). The illustrations of the latter book one finds in a *Seelentrost* (Cologne, Johann Koelhoff the elder, 1489) (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 87, 41–43).

¹² A single print with woodcuts from 1460–80 (Upper Rhine) is in Munich. Schiller, *Ikonographie*, vol. IV, 1, 123–124, ill. 283.

one's old mother's hair and wash the feet of one's old father (the fourth Commandment: 'Honour thy father and thy mother'), duelling (the fifth Commandment: 'Thou shalt not kill'), pickpocketing (the seventh Commandment: 'Thou shalt not steal'). In the Heidelberg *Blockbuch-Dekalog* from 1455–58¹³ the third Commandment ('Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy') is illustrated by a church with a preaching monk and men drinking and playing cards, indicating two alternatives to spend the Sunday.

Reformation and Counter-Reformation

One of the great developments of the sixteenth century was the proliferation of the printed book. In this century the catechism also came into being in the sense in which this word is currently used: a book which contains Church doctrine in the form of questions and answers. Many catechisms came out.¹⁴ It was the time of the Reformation. Many people were occupied with matters of faith. Therefore, there was a great need for catechetical literature. Moreover, the various persuasions tried to keep or attract members by means of catechisms among other things. They adhered to the traditional blocks: Creed, Decalogue, Sacraments, and the Lord's Prayer. One encounters such a division in both catechisms by Luther, which appeared in 1529 in Wittenberg. They contain fewer quotes from Church Fathers and councils, but more biblical quotes. All kinds of late medieval excrement are omitted. According to medieval custom, both catechisms by Luther were written for the propagators of the Christian message: family men and clergymen, rather than for the young. As in the Middle Ages, the catechesis was supplemented with liturgical and devotional practices; Luther's religious songs provided what his catechisms lacked.¹⁵

According to Luther, illustrations could also have a catechetical function.¹⁶ When he disapproved of the breaking of the images in

¹³ Künstle, *Ikongraphie*, vol. I, ill. p. 184; Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, vol. IV, 1, ill. 284–287.

¹⁴ Heijting, *De catechismi*.

¹⁵ In the songs 'we' resounds more than in the catechisms which could cause a certain preoccupation with one's own salvation. Läßle, 'Katechismen', 21–22.

¹⁶ See about the use of images by Luther Van der Coelen, *De Schrift verbeeld*, 17–58.

Wittenberg in 1522, he protected the images, but he rejected their adoration. Images were *adiaphora* to him, neither good nor bad. Several years later he was even positive about images. This is evident from the *Passional* which came out in 1529 as an appendix to the *Betbüchlein*¹⁷ of 1522. The *Passional* consists of fifty biblical prints with brief captions. The prints concern the Fall and the history of the Redemption. The *Passional* is an example of a new type of book which was developed in the sixteenth century, the illustrated Bible. The Bible text itself was either not included, or at the very most in the form of condensed captions. Also new is the fact that so many Old Testament representations were made. Furthermore, the Old Testament is not represented as foreshadowing the New Testament, but in a historical order for the sake of the Old Testament stories themselves.

In the introduction to the *Passional* Luther writes that a small booklet in which all the important biblical histories are pictured in succession functions as a Bible. God's words and deeds must be sung, described and painted, one must preach and read about them. Children and humble people remember the Christian story better in a visual form.¹⁸ By paying attention to the didactic and mnemonic function of images Luther placed himself in the tradition of Gregory the Great, who considered images to be the books of the illiterate. Luther was concerned about the preaching of the Word in diverse media, including the image. Incidentally, Luther probably did not supervise the illustrations in the *Passional* in a strict way. Nor did he take great pains to make the texts fit the illustrations. The pictorial tradition was a starting point for the creator of the illustrations. This was common practice: the central person in the case of the creation of a picture book was the printer/publisher. In the case of the *Passional* Luther will only have given some general instructions.

In response to the successful catechisms by Luther, a number of catechisms from Catholic quarters were created, mostly written in Latin, for example, the books of Franciscus Sonnius, the later Bishop of Antwerp. In 1554 Sonnius published *Ondersoekinghe der Jonghers oft*

¹⁷ In the *Betbüchlein* the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed are central. It also contains a number of elaborations on the baptism, the confession and the Holy Communion. Therefore, it resembles a catechism.

¹⁸ Van der Coelen, *De Schrift verbeeld*, 22–23, 51.

si kerstelijck onderwesen syn. The division follows the catechetical tradition: the twelve articles, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the seven sacraments, the virtues and the sins.¹⁹ The book is constructed as a dialogue between a teacher and a pupil. It was written "for all primary schools".²⁰ In the same year Sonnius published a more extensive version, aimed at the pupils of Latin schools: *Examen tyronum militiae christianae, an christiane instituti sint.*

The catechisms by Petrus Canisius

Only the catechisms²¹ written by Petrus Canisius (1521–1597)²² were successful in ways that can be compared to the catechisms by Luther. King Ferdinand I (1503–64, Emperor from 1561) wanted his kingdom to have a manual of Christian doctrine for priests and the population. In 1551 he asked the University of Vienna to write such a catechism. The assignment was ultimately given to Canisius, who had been teaching in Vienna since 1552. In the spring of 1555 the *Summa doctrinae christianae* was published anonymously in Vienna.²³ The book contains 213 questions and answers. It was intended as a manual for clergymen, university students, the pupils of the higher classes of colleges, and educated lay people. In 1556 a German translation followed. In that year a new improved edition, which proved to be definitive, was published in Cologne. In this edition the pronouncements of the Council of Trent were incorporated. Within a short time this book became very popular: during the life of Canisius eighty-two editions were published.

The *Summa* is subdivided into five chapters which successively discuss faith and the Creed (chapter 1), hope, the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary (chapter 2), charity, the Decalogue and the Commandments of the church (chapter 3), the seven sacraments (chapter 4), the avoid-

¹⁹ Frutsaert, *De R.-K. catechisatie*, 36.

²⁰ "tot behoef van allen cleynscholen"; Frutsaert, *De R.-K. catechisatie*, 36.

²¹ Nastainczyk, 'Die Katechismen des Petrus Canisius', 49–70.

²² Petrus Canisius (Nymegen 1521–Fribourg 1597). He became a Jesuit in 1543. He dedicated himself to the Catholic reformation in the German speaking region in many ways—through his journeys, contacts, foundations, administrative work, sermons and publications.

²³ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 3–75; Haub, 'Le Grand Catéchisme', 67.

ance of sin and the practice of the virtues (chapter 5). The material of the first three chapters is centred around the three theological virtues, faith, hope and charity. The connection of these three virtues to the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments can be found for the first time in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et charitate* of Augustine. Hereafter the sacraments are explained: "in order to receive, practice, multiply, preserve and if necessary repair faith, hope and charity, Christians need the sacraments", Canisius writes in the introduction to the *Summa*. Chapters one to four are based on the concept of wisdom, the last chapter on the concept of justice. Both concepts can be found in Ecclesiastes 1:33 in accordance with the Vulgate translation: "Concupiscens sapientiam conserva iustitiam et Deus praebebit illam tibi". Through the division mentioned above, Canisius welded together the units of knowledge which were sometimes separate in older catechisms into a solid unity.

In 1556 the *Catechismus minimus* was published in Ingolstadt as an appendix to the Latin grammar of the Jesuit Hannibal du Coudrey (Codrettus).²⁴ This catechism contains fifty-nine questions, divided into six chapters, a number of prayers, and was intended for common people and primary school children. In 1556 the *Catechismus minimus* was also published in German: *Der Klein Catechismus sampt kurtzen Gebeten für die einfältigen* (Ingolstadt). During Canisius' life, 121 Latin and thirteen German editions of the *Catechismus minimus* were published.

In the last months of 1557, stimulated by theologians from Louvain, Canisius began a Latin excerpt of his *Summa* for the benefit of pupils of the lower *gymnasium* classes. He completed this work in the first months of 1558. At the end of the year the book was published in Cologne with the title *Parvus catechismus catholicorum*.²⁵ This edition contains 124 questions. The *Parvus catechismus catholicorum* later also came to be called *Institutiones Christianae pietatis* or *Catechismus catholicus*. This catechism counts as the best and the most successful of the

²⁴ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 265–271. In the late Middle Ages it was common practice that the usual teaching at school was combined with the catechism. One learned for instance the Lord's Prayer through ABC-books. See Troelstra, *De toestand der catechese*, 22–50; Troelstra, *Stof en methode der catechese*, 339.

²⁵ Although the book was published earlier, this edition bears the year 1559. *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 238–261, presents the text of the *Parvus catechismus catholicorum* according to the edition by Plantin (Antwerp 1574).

three. Between the year of publication and the death of Canisius 122 editions can be counted, twenty-seven of them published in present-day Belgium.²⁶

Ferdinand I prescribed the catechism of Canisius in his hereditary lands. We learn that on Sunday 1 May 1557 at four o'clock the pupils of the higher classes of the Jesuit gymnasium in Cologne are given an explanation of the *Summa doctrinae christianae*.²⁷ Duke Albrecht V decided in the *Schul Ordnung der Fürstenthump Obern vnnd Nidern Bayerlands* of 1569 that the pupils were to receive tuition in the big or the small catechism of Canisius on every Sunday and every Christian holy day before Mass, depending on their age.²⁸ This kind of instruction took place in church and was accompanied by hymns and prayers.²⁹ On 16 December 1557 King Philip II prescribed the *Summa* by Canisius (also called the 'Catechismus Ferdinandi') for all of the Low Countries. In fact it was the *Parvus catechismus* which was used in the lower classes of the Jesuit colleges and other secondary schools in Flanders well into the eighteenth century.³⁰

Canisius did not reform doctrine.³¹ He adhered to the catechetical knowledge which had been fixed since scholasticism. However, he did introduce a greater unity and coherence. He also filled certain existing voids. The medieval catechesis had done insufficient justice to religious instruction. The instruction aimed at the practice of the pious life, that is confession and prayer. Canisius dealt with this dogmatic void. He no longer briefly paraphrased some of the twelve articles, as happened in medieval catechetical literature, but gave a more detailed explanation of every article on the strength of the Bible, the Fathers and scholastic theology. In Canisius the dogma was seen as the basis of ethics—which he did not approach from the sins but from the virtues—and the sacraments. Finally he omitted medieval surplus baggage: for instance the addition of an apostle to each of the twelve articles. He particularly reached back to Scripture and the Church Fathers: in the revised edition of the *Summa* (1566)

²⁶ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 97*–102*.

²⁷ Braunsberger, *Entstehung*, 114.

²⁸ Baumstark (ed.), *Rom in Bayern*, no. 180.

²⁹ Exhibition catalogue *Die Jesuiten in Bayern*, 99, 101; Paul, 'Petrus Canisius', 198.

³⁰ Frutsaert, *De R.-K. catechisatie*, 40–41, 54–55.

³¹ See for an evaluation of the catechetical doctrine of Canisius: Frutsaert, *De R.-K. catechisatie*, 194–202; Jegen, 'Catechesis', 212.

he quoted from the Bible two thousand times and he quoted the Fathers twelve hundred times.

We have seen that in the Middle Ages, and later also in Luther, religious instruction was supplemented with prayers and hymns. The *Parvus catechismus* by Canisius was also sometimes published in one volume together with certain prayers. Another addition to the oral or written catechesis was the illustration. In the Middle Ages people very often added the image to the word. In the sixteenth century this still happened, both in Luther's and in Catholic teaching. The latter could fall back on a decree of the Council of Trent. In its last meeting, on 3 December 1563, the following was stated:

The bishops ought to teach the following: through the histories of the mysteries of our redemption, painted or imagined in other ways, the people are instructed and affirmed in their faith . . .³²

An illustrated Parvus catechismus

In the catechisms of Canisius the image was sometimes given a place. The Vienna *Summa* of 1555 already contains some illustrations.³³ I would like to examine further two editions from Antwerp. In 1578 Jan Bellère published an illustrated *Parvus catechismus*, printed by Gerhard Smits,³⁴ which includes fifty-six woodcuts.³⁵ The separate prints make a heterogeneous impression. The format is rectangular (usually horizontal, twice vertical) or square. The illustrations are doubly or singly rimmed. A number of times the representations contain references to certain biblical passages.³⁶ Some woodcuts appear more than once.³⁷ The personifications of faith, hope and charity

³² "Illud vero diligenter doceant episcopi, per historias mysteriorum nostrae redemptionis, picturis vel aliis similitudinibus expressas, erudiri et confirmari populum in articulis fidei . . ." Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, nr. 1824.

³³ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 2, 5, 49, 75.

³⁴ Van Dijk, *Bibliotheca catholica*, nr. 3682.

³⁵ The woodcuts are reproduced in *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 238–261.

³⁶ The illustrations with questions 1, 14, 19, and at the end of the book (these are identical). The illustrations with questions 68, 69, 71, 76, 78, 79, 80 (the seven sacraments), the illustrations with questions 15 and 106.

³⁷ An identical illustration with questions 26 and 62, with questions 48 and 55, with questions 62 and 72, with questions 1, 14, 19, and with the 'testimonia scripturae sacrae' at the end of the book.

resemble each other as far as the general design is concerned, but they are scattered over the text.³⁸ It appears to be the case that already existing illustrations from different sources were combined.

As far as the relationship to the text is concerned, one could argue that in a number of cases the illustration is no more than a literal 'imagination' of the text. However, sometimes the illustration adds something. The addition usually consists of a reference to a biblical story. Question 15, which concerns the general forgiveness of sins, is illustrated with the story of the sinful woman in the house of a Pharisee (Luke 7:36–50). A number of prayers of the Lord's Prayer are illustrated with scenes from the life of Christ,³⁹ while some of the Ten Commandments are accompanied by Old Testament representations.⁴⁰ The latter is an old tradition which dates back to the fourteenth century and which was again resumed in the sixteenth century.⁴¹

The addition contained in the illustration can also take the form of an actualization. The same illustration of a sermon in a church appears twice. The first time the representation belongs to the first prayer of the Lord's Prayer (question 26), the second time it belongs to the first Commandment of the church (celebrating the obligatory holy days as Sundays: question 62). The personification of faith in question 3 is represented as a woman with a small church in one hand and the Holy Scriptures in the other hand as timeless attributes. Beneath her feet is a man, "Mahomet" according to the caption, as an 'attribute' which depicts a certain actualization.

There is a different kind of supplement in the illustrations of the seven sacraments.⁴² These are represented by vessels into which a

³⁸ They appear with questions 3, 22 and 39.

³⁹ Illustration with question 28 (Christ in Gethsemane as an illustration of the third prayer of the Lord's Prayer), with question 29 (the multiplication of the bread as an illustration of the fourth prayer), with question 31 (the temptation of Christ as an illustration of the sixth prayer), with question 32 (the story about the storm on the lake as an illustration of the seventh prayer).

⁴⁰ Illustration of question 45 (the dance around the golden calf as an illustration of the first commandment), with question 50 (Sem and Japheth cover Noah's nudity with averted faces: Genesis 9:23) as an illustration of the fourth commandment, with question 52 (Able being killed by Cain as an illustration of the fifth commandment), with question 53 (Joseph and Potifar's wife as an illustration of the sixth commandment), with question 55 (the two elders accuse Susanna before Daniel as an illustration of the eighth commandment).

⁴¹ Veldman, 'The Old Testament as a moral code'.

⁴² *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 251–254.

stream flows from the side of Christ, who is hanging on the cross. A priest or bishop holds the vessels. It is odd that in the illustrations the seven sacraments are associated with the three theological and the four cardinal virtues,⁴³ while these are not mentioned in the accompanying text. The vessels themselves are adorned with New Testament representations which all have to do with the sacraments concerned.

Like the text they illustrate, the illustrations are part of an older tradition. It seems, though, that there are more references to the Bible than in the past. Whereas, for instance, in the *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel des christlichen Glaubens* (Ulm, Conrad Dinckmut, 1485) the tenth article, the forgiveness of sins, is illustrated with a confessant kneeling in front of a confessor (plate 3.1),⁴⁴ in the illustrated *Parvus catechismus* (question 15) considered here the forgiveness of sins is illustrated with the female sinner at the feet of Christ in the house of a Pharisee (plate 3.2). In the *Seelentrost*, printed by Anton Sorg (Augsburg 1478), the Ten Commandments are illustrated with contemporary examples of transgression or observance of the Commandments.⁴⁵ However, in the *Parvus catechismus* these are mostly Old Testament representations.⁴⁶

The Institutiones christianae seu parvus catechismus catholicorum

In 1589 the *Institutiones christianae, seu parvus catechismus catholicorum, Praecipua Christianae pietatis capita complectens: primum quidem à P. Joanne Baptista Romano, Societatis Jesu, in rudiorum et idiotarum gratiam, iuxta Ss. Concilij Tridentini decretum sess. 25. imaginibus distinctus, nunc verò aereis formis ad D. Petri Canisii, Societatis Jesu, Institutiones eleganter expressus* was published in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin and Philips Galle.⁴⁷ The book contains 103 etchings of 8 by 7 centimetres. The last but one print is signed: "P. van der borcht inuenit et fecit".

⁴³ The vessels are crowned by a personification of a virtue. Moreover, the names of the virtues are also written there.

⁴⁴ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 85, 85.

⁴⁵ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 82, 127-131.

⁴⁶ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 246-249.

⁴⁷ Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. II, 637; Cockx-Indestege and Glorieux, *Belgica typographica*, nr. 3981; Voet and Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press*, nr. 884. The book is reproduced in *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 275-399.

The book can be considered as an illustrated volume belonging to the *Parvus catechismus* by Canisius. The catechism from 1578 discussed above is a book with pictures. The catechism from 1589, under discussion here, is a picture-book.⁴⁸ It is a co-production of a printer and a publisher of books on the one hand, and a publisher of prints on the other. Plantin had developed plans in that direction before. On 23 January 1574 he asked Canisius for captions for a series of illustrations to be published separately.⁴⁹ Of a further correspondence nothing has been preserved. The illustrated catechism from Antwerp of 1589 was one of the last important editions published by Christopher Plantin, who died on 1 July 1589.

The second publisher who had been involved in the book was Galle. Philips Galle⁵⁰ was born in Haarlem in 1537, where he was trained to be an engraver. In 1570 he left for Antwerp, at that time a pre-eminent centre of printing and engraving. In Antwerp he became one of the most important publishers of engraved prints by himself and others. After 1575 he focussed increasingly on publishing, and left the engraving to assistants and pupils. In the case of voluminous publications he worked together with printers such as Plantin. The prints engraved and published by Galle were of an allegorically moralistic nature. However, halfway through the 1580s a distinct Catholic iconography was increasingly emphasized. This was in the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, which got into its stride in Antwerp after the capture of the city by the Spaniards in 1585. Sellink mentions a 'Jesuitization' of (illustrated) theological books, which happened after 1585.⁵¹

Often Galle took the initiative to publish a series of prints. However, in the case of the *Institutiones christianae* Plantin commissioned the prints. Galle only had to deal with the technical aspects.⁵² Furthermore, he shared the costs with Plantin. Together they made 850 copies. Each received 425. Plantin commissioned Pieter van der Borcht for the design and the making of the etchings and paid him. Perhaps

⁴⁸ Braunsberger, *Entstehung*, 157, mentions "Katechismen mit Bildern" in contrast to "Bilderkatechismen".

⁴⁹ Letter in Latin by Plantin in the Plantijn museum in Antwerp: Braunsberger, *Entstehung*, 157–158; *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 74*.

⁵⁰ Sellink, 'Philips Galle als uitgever'; Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): engraver*.

⁵¹ Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): engraver*, 123.

⁵² About the cooperation between Plantin and Galle as far as the book under consideration is concerned see Selling, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): engraver*, 127.

this was because Galle had virtually no experience with etching, and Van der Borcht was an acquaintance of Plantin.

Originating from Mechelen, Pieter van der Borcht⁵³ had arrived in Antwerp in 1572 where he became one of the most important illustrators of Christopher Plantin. His name appears in the *Institutiones et exercitamenta christianae pietatis* by Canisius, printed by Plantin (Antwerp, 1574). This book is adorned with five woodcuts. One woodcut bears the monogram of Pieter van der Borcht and the woodcutter Arnold Nicolai. Probably the two of them were responsible for the other illustrations as well. Furthermore, Van der Borcht made the illustrations for the *Vyftich meditatie van de gantsche historie der passie ende des lijdens ons Heeren* by the Jesuit Frans Coster, printed by Plantin (Antwerp 1587).⁵⁴

As the title implies, the book of prints with the etchings by Van der Borcht was made after the example of the illustrated catechism by Giovanni Battista Romano.⁵⁵ In 1587 he had a small book published by Vincentius Accolti in Rome in which the Christian doctrine was represented by means of woodcuts. The intention of these representations is indicated in the book itself: "Dottrina Christiana nella quale si contengono li principali misteri della nostra fede rappresentati con figure per instruzione degl'Idioti, et di quelli che non sanno leggere."⁵⁶

The illustrated catechism from Antwerp has the same intention as the book by Romano namely the instruction of the illiterate, as is indicated in the foreword:

At the twenty-fifth meeting of the Council of Trent it has been decided that the bishops . . . have to instruct the unrefined eyes of the uneducated by means of illustrations . . . Following in the footsteps of the Council and in order to serve many, we have published this small book, even more abundantly illustrated than that of Romano. We have

⁵³ Van der Coelen, *De Schrift verbeeld*, 124, 159–60.

⁵⁴ Van Dijk, *Bibliotheca catholica*, nr. 3932.

⁵⁵ Giovanni Battista Eliano (or Romano) was a Jew, born in Rome (1530) who became a Catholic. In Venice he was accepted into the Jesuit order. In Rome he taught Hebrew and Arabic. He died in Rome on 3 March 1589. Aranci, 'L'uso delle imagini', 187–190; Ioly Zoratinni, *Eliano*; Libois, *Eliano*.

⁵⁶ "The Christian doctrine, containing the most important mysteries of our faith, represented by illustrations for the instruction of simple people and of those who are unable to read." Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, vol. III, 379–380; *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 74* (n. 4); Voet and Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press*, 542.

ordered the points of faith in such a way that they coincide as much as possible with certain Bible stories, so that faith and the Christian story can be understood in one go. Explanations from the *Institutiones christianae* by Petrus Canisius S.J. are added to the various prints. . . . May this small book offer the material enabling the literate to aid the illiterate . . .⁵⁷

As the title and the foreword indicate, the pronouncement of the Council of Trent and the example of the book by Romano encouraged Plantin and Galle to publish their 'illustrated catechism'.

In this illustrated catechism the word adapts to the image. There are no questions and answers, only captions. The division follows Canisius. In the first four chapters (concerning the Creed, the pater-noster, the Decalogue and the sacraments) one finds many sentences which have been copied literally from the *Parvus catechismus*; in some passages small changes have been made. However, where Canisius only enumerates the seven deadly sins, the six sins against the Holy Ghost, the four sins of vengeance, the seven physical and spiritual works of mercy, the seven virtues, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the Beatitudes and the four last things in the *Parvus catechismus*, the illustrated catechismus from 1589 illustrates them with biblical representations, accompanied by captions with fitting biblical quotations.⁵⁸ We do not know whether and to what extent Canisius had anything to do with the project.⁵⁹

The preface states that the mysteries of faith have, as much as possible, been connected to biblical events. Two-thirds of the prints reflect biblical representations. A number of prints (with the sacraments, the physical and spiritual works of mercy)⁶⁰ reflect contem-

⁵⁷ "... a s. concilio Tridentino cautum est sess. 25, ut qui praesunt . . . imaginum simulacris . . . rudes indoctorum oculos religione informet . . . Cuius vestigiis insistentes, ut multis commodaremus, libellum hunc picturis et imaginibus devitem, Romano multo illustriorem, in lucem emisimus; in quo ita res fidei digessimus, ut, quoad fieri posset, historiis quibusdam s. scripturae accomodaremus, uno eodemque ut labore et fides et historia hauriretur. Adiecta autem est singulis picturis rei propositae ad D. Petri Canisii de Soc. Iesu Christianas Institutiones explicatio . . . et ne desit peritioribus argumentum eos iuvandi, qui litterarum signa non cognoscunt."; *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 276.

⁵⁸ The physical and spiritual works of mercy are illustrated with modern examples with in the background a biblical parallel.

⁵⁹ Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537-1612): engraver*, 127, does not think it likely that Canisius had anything to do with the realization of the book.

⁶⁰ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 316-322, 348-354, 356-362.

porary representations, while corresponding biblical scenes are located in the background (plate 3.3). We see the marriage illustrated in the form of a *dextrarum iunctio* before an altar, while in the background God unites Adam and Eve.⁶¹ The reception of strangers, one of the seven works of mercy, is illustrated by a sixteenth-century gentleman who receives two guests, with the hospitality of Abraham in the background.⁶² Sometimes two or more biblical representations appear in one print. In this case it is a matter of successive scenes. In the print of the first article of the Creed⁶³ the Creator is portrayed five times. In the first print belonging to the fourth article Christ appears three times: he is whipped, mocked and burdened with the cross.⁶⁴ Fasting is illustrated by a print picturing the three temptations of Christ.⁶⁵

The sources Van der Borcht used for his prints still need to be further investigated. In any case I have observed some resemblances to a few prints engraved by Philips Galle. In 1576 Galle published a series of prints titled *Septem novae legis sacramenta . . . tam veteris testamenti, figuris, et prophetiis quam novi documentis, historiis, ac ritibus, illustrata*.⁶⁶ The baptism is illustrated by the administering of this sacrament with the font surrounded by a number of people in sixteenth-century attire. The baptism of Christ in the Jordan is pictured in the background to the left.⁶⁷ Van der Borcht illustrates the baptism in a similar composition.⁶⁸ Even stronger is the resemblance between the groups of people representing the confirmation in Galle⁶⁹ and Van der Borcht⁷⁰ (plates 3.3 and 3.4). In both cases one sees the bishop on the left administering the confirmation, behind him a priest bears the pyx with chrism, with two children kneeling in front of the bishop, accompanied by a man and a woman.⁷¹ On the right a priest ties a ribbon around the forehead of the child about to receive the

⁶¹ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 322.

⁶² *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 353.

⁶³ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 279.

⁶⁴ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 282.

⁶⁵ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 344.

⁶⁶ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 241–248.

⁶⁷ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 242.

⁶⁸ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 316.

⁶⁹ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 243.

⁷⁰ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 317.

⁷¹ The woman resembles 'The Dutch daughter' in *Het Dracht-thoneel* by Zacharias Heyns (1601), ed. Van Leuvensteijn, 26.

confirmation.⁷² In the background the Acts of the Apostles 8:17 is represented: "Then laid they (Peter and John) their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost". In the prints of Galle⁷³ and Van der Borcht⁷⁴ representing the confession, the confessional boxes are identical. The groups which portray the ordination in Galle⁷⁵ and Van der Borcht⁷⁶ are closely related: a bishop hands the chalice and the paten to two ordinands who kneel before him, while an assisting priest keeps open the book with the text of the consecration. In both cases the ordination of Aaron is chosen as the Old Testament parallel (Exodus 29:5–10). Galle⁷⁷ as well as Van der Borcht⁷⁸ depict marriage with the help of the *dextrarum iunctio*, with the priest's stole lying over the hands of the husband and wife. The similarity between the two prints is remarkable when it comes to the woman on the left whom we find in the *Dracht-Thoneel* by Zacharias Heyns from 1601 as 'The Flemish maiden'.⁷⁹ In both cases there is an illustration from Genesis 2:22 in the background: God brings Eve to Adam.

Certain individuals from Galle's series *Septem opera misericordiae spiritualia*⁸⁰ (1577) return in Van der Borcht, such as the man with crutches at the comforting of the sorrowful.⁸¹ The spiritual works of mercy are illustrated by Galle and Van der Borcht on the basis of the same christological scenes (twice) and the same scenes from ordinary life (four times). Similarities can also be found regarding the physical works of mercy in Galle's series *Septem opera misericordiae corporalia* from 1577 and in Van der Borcht. In the prints by Galle⁸² and Van der Borcht⁸³ the legs and the hands of the prisoners who are visited are stuck between big blocks of wood.

That the illustrations in the catechisms by Plantin and Galle have Latin captions while the book was aimed at the illiterate, according

⁷² At confirmation the hairs on the forehead had to be close-clipped and a bandage was tied around the forehead of the confirmand. See Troelstra, *Stof en methode*, 275.

⁷³ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 244.

⁷⁴ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 319.

⁷⁵ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 247.

⁷⁶ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 321.

⁷⁷ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 248.

⁷⁸ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 322.

⁷⁹ Van Leuvensteijn (ed.), 25.

⁸⁰ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 249–256.

⁸¹ *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 254; *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 360.

⁸² *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 261.

⁸³ *S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 351.

to the preface, is less strange than it seems, because the introduction ends with the wish that the book may offer the literate material to assist the illiterate. Moreover, one should take into account that the argument about the instruction of the illiterate by means of illustrations may be a cliché, the use of which use was ill-timed. The small book containing more than hundred etchings will have been comparatively more expensive than the *Parvus catechismus* adorned with woodcuts, which was published by Bellère in 1578. For engravings or etchings are more laborious and more expensive than woodcuts.⁸⁴ The small book with etchings by Van der Borcht was also an object of luxury. Perhaps it not only served the instruction of the illiterate pupil, but also the delight of the literate owner.⁸⁵

Conclusion

When one compares the catechisms by Canisius and their illustrations with the illuminated catechetical documents preceding them the continuity is noticeable. The same subjects come up. Canisius begins with the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which already made up the content of the early medieval catechesis. Furthermore, like the medieval catechists he discusses the sacraments, the deadly sins, the virtues, the physical and spiritual works of mercy, the gifts of the Holy Ghost—still a matter of the previous sevens. As in the Middle Ages, the catechesis in Canisius is connected to piety and prayer. Some editions of the catechism contain prayers as supplements. Furthermore, we see that in the Middle Ages as well as in Canisius the catechism may be illustrated, where the illustrations not only represent the text but also add something to it: references to the Scripture and to the topical issues.

⁸⁴ As far as separate prints were concerned engravings affected the hegemony of the woodcut at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The breakthrough of the engraving in the illustration of books takes place in the Low Countries in the 1560s. Because the woodcut is cheaper than the engraving, one encounters woodcuts in books for a much longer period. One was much more prepared to pay more for separate prints. Voet, 'Kopergravure en houtsnede'.

⁸⁵ Van der Coelen, *De Schrift verbeeld*, 291, points out that Bible prints in the second half of the sixteenth century not only served the word but could also serve as 'entertainment'.

A comparison between the two illustrated catechisms from Antwerp by Canisius proves that Bellère's edition is illustrated in a more traditional manner than those by Plantin and Galle. In Bellère's edition the seven sacraments are associated with the seven virtues, according to medieval custom, while this is not the case in Canisius' text. The illustrations in the editions by Plantin and Galle emphatically connect the mysteries of faith to biblical events. The book with its many biblical representations, with captions, looks like a sixteenth-century pictorial Bible. The biblical illustrations are more numerous than in the Bellère edition. In the latter publication less than half of the illustrations refer to bible stories, while two-thirds of the illustrations in the edition by Plantin and Galle are biblical.

The illustrated catechisms from Antwerp by Canisius are part of an old tradition, both in terms of the text and the illustrations. Apart from their Renaissance design, the innovation lies in the explicitly biblical character of the representations containing important additions to the text.



Plate 3.1: The tenth article of the Creed: confession, the Apostle Simon and a prophet. *Erklärung der zwölf Artikel des christlichen Glaubens* (Conrad Dinckmut, Ulm 1485) (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 85, 85).



Plate 3.2: The sinful woman in the house of the pharisee. Petrus Canisius, *Parvus catechismus* (Jan Bellère, Antwerp 1578), illustration with question 15. (*S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 241).



Plate 3.3: The confirmation. *Institutiones christianae seu parvus catechismus catholicorum* (Christoffel Plantijn and Philip Galle, Antwerp 1589), etching by Pieter van der Borcht (*S. Petri Canisii . . . catechismi*, ed. Streicher, 317).



Plate 3.4: The confirmation. Philips Galle, *Septem novae legis sacramenta...* (Antwerp 1576) (*The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 56, 243).

STUDYING ABROAD. THE STUDENT YEARS OF TWO
FRISIAN BROTHERS AT COLOGNE AND DOUAI
(1582–1593)

Samme Zijlstra†

Through the centuries Friesland has had a reputation of producing many students. In the sixteenth century the Frisians were said to be famous for their erudition and their inclination to study.¹ Before the universities of Leiden (1575) and Franeker (1586) were established, students from Friesland had to go abroad to satisfy their desire to study.² The universities visited most often at the end of the sixteenth century—that is by those who remained faithful to the Catholic faith—were those of Louvain, Cologne and Douai. Those who cherished Protestant sympathies had a wider choice: they were also able to study at universities in the Protestant parts of Germany and Switzerland.

Often the students visited more than one university: they travelled to several universities, referred to as the *peregrinatio academica*.³ It did not make their study any cheaper and usually it was the well-to-do who were able to undertake a *peregrinatio*. Nevertheless, it was not completely impossible for the less well-off: they could accompany a wealthy person as a servant or *praeceptor* (private tutor).

Before embarking on their university education, most students had attended a Latin school. Some universities demanded that the student first studied a number of years at the faculty of arts before enrolling in one of the ‘higher’ faculties: law, medicine and theology. In the sixteenth century the faculty of arts, where mainly classical languages and philosophy were taught, also offered instruction at pre-university

¹ Zijlstra, *Geleerde Friesland*, 1. This view goes back to a humanist topos. Frisians were not more studious than people from other regions in the Netherlands: see *ibid.*, 285.

² About the roles and function of the universities in the Middle Ages and early modern period see De Ridder-Symoens, *Tot nut of onnut van 't algemeen*; De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *History of Universities* I and II.

³ For the *peregrinatio academica*, see De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’ (1) and *ead.*, ‘Mobility’ (2); Frank-Van Westrienen, *De Grootte Tour*.

level. The student could gain the *magister artium* degree if he so desired, but this was no longer really customary in the sixteenth century. Having spent a number of years at the faculty of arts, the student enrolled in one of the higher faculties. The faculty of law was most popular, because a legal education offered an opening to a career in government and the administration of justice. Usually a law degree was required for positions in these fields, and even though nobles were formally exempted from this, they also tended to gain a degree in law in the sixteenth century.⁴

We are well informed about the lives of students. Memoirs, letters and particulars from the university archives, when collected, present an accurate picture of student life, although it was rare that a great number of letters of the same student(s) was preserved.⁵ Such a collection can, however, be found in the *Rijksarchief* of Friesland, in the family archives Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen.⁶ Its writers are the Roorda brothers, who both bore the Christian name Johannes and who studied at the universities of Cologne and Douai at the end of the sixteenth century. From these cities they regularly wrote letters to their father. These letters offer an insight into their lives and into the course and content of the academic education of a sixteenth-century student. Moreover, we gain an impression of the (mainly financial) problems encountered by a student studying abroad.

The Roorda family

The Roorda brothers were born into the large and eminent Frisian Roorda family, from the branch which was named after its family coat of arms 'Roorda with the bend sinister'.⁷ Ruurd Roorda (†1576) lived in Hennaard (half-way between Sneek and Franeker) and married Deytzen Hansdr Sassinga. He was one of the most respected nobles of Friesland and held the office of deputy in 1566 and 1576.

⁴ See also the contributions by Janse and Damen in this volume.

⁵ The brothers Christoffel and Wigbold van Ewsum for instance only wrote seven preserved letters to their brother Johan during their stay in Louvain: Van der Laan, 'Alias de meis studiis', 25.

⁶ With thanks to drs. Hotso Spanninga in Leeuwarden who drew my attention to the letters.

⁷ Bend sinister on a coat of arms, frequently interpreted incorrectly as a sign of illegitimacy.

Moreover, he was more than once a deputy of the *Vijf delen Zeedijken*.⁸ His brother Watse was doctor of civil and canon law and *grietman*—the highest judicial and administrative official of a Frisian rural district—of Hennaarderadeel from 1541.⁹ Ruurd Roorda had six children who married children from eminent Frisian families. Hans, the father of the brothers discussed in this article, was his second child as well as the eldest son.

Hans, who probably did not attend university (unlike his brother Johannes, who had studied at Louvain and Freiburg im Breisgau and had taken a doctoral degree in both civil and canon law), married Rixt Jansdr van Gerbranda in 1563. On this occasion he received Sassingahuis in Hennaard as a wedding present, a farmstead of 120 *pondematen* (approximately 44 hectare).¹⁰ This marriage produced five children: Johannes, Tjets, Ath, Johannes and Ruurd. The latter four died quite young, Ruurd (1579–1632) was the only one to reach middle age. He was the only one who married (his cousin Deytzen Binnertsdr van Heringa) and thanks to their marriage they were able to continue the Roorda line.¹¹

Hans Roorda lived at Sassingahuis in Hennaard and, like his brother Johannes, he was a confirmed Catholic. In 1580 when Protestants seized power in Friesland both men felt compelled to go into exile, and first moved to Groningen and then to Emden.¹² Like most Catholic exiles they expected to be able to return to Friesland soon.¹³ With this in mind a number of them had already arranged lucrative positions for themselves: for instance, Caspar de Robles, Lord of Billy, the Stadtholder of Groningen, who was favourably disposed towards the Spanish, had promised Hans Roorda that he was

⁸ Woltjer, *Friesland in Hervormingstijd*, 162, 284, 185, 262; Cannegieter, *Register van stukken*, 264, 267, 268.

⁹ De Haan Hetteema, *Stamboek*, I, 313, II, 210.

¹⁰ Ryksargyf yn Fryslân [hereafter: RAF], Familie archief Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen [hereafter: EVC], inv. nr. 381, 13 Mar. 1563.

¹¹ De Haan Hetteema, *Stamboek*, I, 313.

¹² Hoogland, 'Conscripto exulum Frisiae', 360: "Doctor Johan van Rorda, cuius uxoris est in Frisia et postea Raed ordinarius in den Hove van Vriesland; Hans van Rorda cuius uxoris obiit Emdae anno '82 et ibi sepulta in domino." For the political and religious situation in Friesland in the last decades of the sixteenth century, see Bergsma, *Tussen Gideonsbende en publieke kerk*, chapters 1 and 2.

¹³ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, without date (after Feb. 1582): "Il y ayet apparence que l'en ceste conjuncture tant favorable ledites pays bien facilement peult estre reduict a la obeissance de Sa Mte".

going to be *grietman* of Baarderadeel. On 26 September 1582 his brother Johannes had acquired the stewardship of Het Bildt, on the basis of his “wisdom, justice and experience in matters of accounting”, because the incumbent steward Boudewijn van Loo had chosen the side of the rebels.¹⁴ In subsequent years the letters to Hans Roorda contain passages on the military situation and hopeful references to a possible quick return to the fatherland. Hans’ son Johannes points to the capture of Bruges, the brother of Hans mentions the imminent fall of Antwerp and Mechelen.

After he had gone into exile, Hans Roorda’s possessions were confiscated by the States of Friesland. From that moment the proceeds, initially thirty-three golden guilders and six pennies, subsequently eighty-five golden guilders and twenty pennies, flowed into the provincial purse.¹⁵ Part of the income of Hans Roorda escaped the States: money and property in kind were sent from Friesland to Emden, so that “we could live honestly from the land” as Hans Roorda wrote in his will. Those people who maintained contact with the rebels had to be careful, since the States had issued strict edicts against such practices.¹⁶ The inhabitants of Hennaard, who provided Hans Roorda with money and food, benefited from disregarding the edicts. They had to buy *sauve-gardes* from the Spanish government, certificates which protected owners against looting or hostage-taking by Spanish troops. The town paid no less than twenty-eight guilders and twelve pennies per month for this! Because they supported Hans van Roorda financially, he urged the Spanish Stadtholder Verdugo that the inhabitants of Hennaard “could remain in peace and quiet”.

For this reason Hans Roorda was frequently sent items from Friesland. For instance, in December 1587 and May 1588 he received two bills of forty-eight Carolus guilders and twenty-five thalers respectively, and goods such as apples, cabbage, fowl, cheese and a case with eel.¹⁷ One of the most important intermediaries between East

¹⁴ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 7 Apr. 1582; 29 Sept. 1582.

¹⁵ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381: ‘Extracts from the bills . . . of the confiscated goods’.

¹⁶ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 25 Apr. 1595. The edicts refer to the writs of Aug. 1580 and 25 Apr. 1581. The former established that all personal property and real estate belonging to the enemy had to be reported in order to be used “to the profit of his majesty [*sic*] and the common weal”. The latter forbade travels “. . . back and forth to those we consider enemies” under pain of “corporal punishment”. *Groot Placaat en Charterboek*, IV, 193–194, 254.

¹⁷ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 10 Oct. 1587, May 1588.

Frisia and Hennaard was Yefck Cornelisdr, the wife of Jacob Pietersz, who continuously travelled up and down, providing the Roorda family with the necessary goods. She lived at Sassingahuis in order to prevent the theft of the goods, which were still in the house.¹⁸ She is also mentioned in the letters of Hans' sons and she was amply remembered in Hans Roorda's will.¹⁹

Hans Roorda was an educated man. He sent his student son the law books of Justinian, which apparently were in his possession—both an edition with and without glosses. His will contains many references to this law book. There was a time when he asked one of his sons to reply in Greek, which presupposes that he had mastered this language. However, the son replied that he would have liked to do so but that he lacked the time.²⁰ Hans Roorda also had contacts with scholars such as Pontus Heuterus, Suffridus Petrus and Martinus Hamconius. The first lived from 1535 to 1602, was a priest, and researched the history of Holland under the Burgundian sovereigns and after. He examined the sources frequently and was reputed to be reasonably objective. In 1584 Heuterus wrote Hans Roorda a letter in which he offered him his condolences on the loss of his child.²¹ In the same letter he asked for information on the Counts of East Frisia and their origins. Heuterus was uncertain about the way in which he had arranged the order of the counts and furthermore would be glad to hear how they had acquired the title of count.²²

Hans Roorda also had contacts with Suffridus Petrus, professor of law at Cologne, who was also working on the history of Friesland.²³ Suffridus Petrus advised Hans about the university education of his

¹⁸ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 9 Mar. 1590. In that year Stadtholder Verdugo gave Hans Roorda permission to transfer his personal property to Emden.

¹⁹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 31 Oct. 1590(?): "Intellexi ex tuis litteris Iefcam incolumem et recuperata iam valitudine ad vos venisse, quem ob rem gaudeo, quia propter officia nobis praestita eam summopere diligo"; RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 25 Apr. 1595.

²⁰ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 19 May 1583.

²¹ Ath, daughter of Hans Roorda, was born in 1577 and died in 1584; RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, without date. De Haan Hettema, *Stamboek*, I, 313, does not mention these dates.

²² RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 18 Dec. 1584; for Heuterus: *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, VII, 585–586; Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandse geschiedschrijving*, 161–173.

²³ See for Suffridus Petrus: Bergsma et al. (eds.), 'Mythe en geschiedschrijving'.

eldest son Johannes. Moreover, he put questions to him about historical subjects. Suffidus Petrus commented on the genealogy of the Roorda family constructed by Douwe Roorda.²⁴ Petrus planned to include this genealogy, which went back to the legendary Magnus Forteman, in his works. At the same time he asked Hans Roorda to give his regards to Martinus Hamconius, “amicus noster”.²⁵

As mentioned earlier, Hans Roorda had five children. Two of his sons, both called Johannes, went to university and regularly corresponded with their father at that time. The eldest son enrolled at the University of Cologne on 7 June 1582. In 1585 or 1586 he continued his studies at the University of Douai. He died there on 1 August 1586 and was buried in the local church of Saint Peter. In his will Hans Roorda ordered his heirs to place an “honest grave-stone” on his grave in Douai with an epitaph and the quarterings of Johannes Roorda.²⁶ The youngest Johannes enrolled at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Cologne on 29 October 1590. Judging from his letters, he had stayed in Cologne before. In October 1587 he received a letter of safe conduct, signed in person by the Frisian Stadtholder Willem Lodewijk, ordering the warriors to leave Johannes and his luggage alone, because he had to go to Germany to study.²⁷ He also moved to Douai (he is mentioned there in 1592), but probably he returned to Emden in 1594. He died before 2 April 1595 and was buried in Emden, where his two sisters and his mother, who died in 1582, also lay buried. In his will Hans Roorda asked his heirs to transfer the remains of his wife together with those of his son and daughters from Emden to Hennaard and bury them in the Church of Saint Boniface.²⁸

He left his possessions to his remaining son Ruurd, although he did not enjoy doing so. He wrote that he had many sound reasons

²⁴ Douwe Roorda (1536–1601), courtier in Sneek, went into exile in 1580: De Haan Hetteema, *Stamboek*, I, 311, II, 208; Hoogland, ‘Conscriptio exulum’, 349.

²⁵ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 19 June 1594. The scholar Martinus Hamconius (1550–1561) held several offices, which he lost because he remained loyal to the King. He is the author of *Frisia seu de viris rebusque Frisiae illustribus libri duo* (1620): *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, VII, 522–3.

²⁶ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, IV, 135–32; RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 25 Apr. 1595.

²⁷ *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, IV, 157–16; RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 11 Oct. 1587.

²⁸ A letter from his younger son Johannes shows that in 1592 he asked to be reburied in the church of Hennaard or Harlingen, in the family grave of the Gerbranda family (his wife’s family), together with his wife and daughter were he to die in exile. RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 11 Sept. 1592.

to disinherit Ruurd “for the increasing obstinacy shown to me”, but he did make him principal heir out of respect for Ruurd’s mother.²⁹ Ruurd probably went to university around this time; he stayed in Cologne and Italy, but this was not very successful, besides which he spent a lot of money. In any case, at the beginning of 1599 he was back in Friesland.³⁰

Hans Roorda did not die in exile. Shortly after he made his will he must have returned to Friesland, because in July 1595 he sent a letter from Hennaard to the city of Emden. His affairs were taken care of by Willem Jansz, a former priest in Hardegarijp. He had been commissioned to record the expenses made in the interest of Hans Roorda, for which he would be paid later. We do not know exactly when Hans died; probably before the beginning of 1599, because he had died when Ruurd returned from his ‘study tour’.³¹

The funding of the Roorda brothers’ study

A student could encounter a number of problems at the end of the sixteenth century. Firstly, there were problems of a financial kind; secondly, there were problems connected to health. The Roorda brothers encountered both. In their letters they often mention money, or rather the lack of it. Studying was expensive and although their father Hans Roorda had a reasonable income in exile, he urged his sons to be thrifty. Their expenses were accommodation and the day-to-day cost of living. They received clothes from home, though in moderate amounts.

Their money was usually transferred from Emden to Cologne by bills of exchange. These bills were delivered by a messenger, who took the students’ letters and delivered them. This messenger, called Jochim in the letters of the eldest Johannes, was in the service of the Frisian students who studied at Cologne. The connection with

²⁹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 25 Apr. 1595.

³⁰ Van Heel, ‘Brief van Johannes Idzartsz’, 99: “[Ruurd] was in Cologne and Italy to study for a few years but he has not done much apart from spending money uselessly like so many noble and white bread eating children”.

³¹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 15 July 1595; Van Heel, ‘Brief van Joannes Idzartsz’, 99. The year of death 1582, mentioned in De Haan Hettema, *Stamboek*, I 313 is incorrect: in that year Hans’ wife died, cf. Hoogland, ‘Conscriptio exulum’, 360.

Cologne seemed to have functioned well, better in any case than the one with Douai, about which the letters complain. A bad connection had consequences for the financial situation of the student who found himself without money. Incidentally, when they studied at Cologne the students did not receive money directly. The eldest Johannes received his allowance in instalments through his uncle, doctor Johannes Roorda, who stayed in Cologne. His aunt thought this strange; Johannes himself was also not pleased with the arrangement.³² However, it enabled him to absolve himself before his father when he thought that his son had spent too much: after all, he did not administer his own money! It was probably this conflict that prompted him to make a list in which he specified his income and expenses for a certain period.³³ The youngest Johannes received his money through the councillor from Cologne, doctor Herman Moysenbroick.

Apart from money, the students also frequently asked for clothes. In 1583 the eldest wrote that he had nothing but rags, while thirty-eight nobles lived in the Jesuit College where he was staying, including a count and a number of barons. Therefore, he found it extremely difficult to keep up his status.³⁴ Nor were books and stationery free, even though he received many books from his father, for instance the *Corpus iuris civilis*.³⁵ When the Roorda brothers studied at Douai, receiving financial support was even more problematic, partly because of the already mentioned lack of messengers. An attempt in 1588 to send money via a merchant in French Rouen failed completely. Johannes Roorda would have found himself in dire straits had doctor Moysenbroick not given him some money.³⁶

The youngest Johannes, who subsequently studied at Douai for a number of years, also had financial problems. Life in Douai was much more expensive than had been the case in Cologne, where he had previously studied. He wrote that he needed a yearly allowance of 350 florins, but if his father thought this was too much he would

³² RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 2 Dec. 1583: "ad sumptus attinet me quidem minores facere potuisse scio, verum tamen nihil habui a patruo quod non esset necessarium, sed ipse pecunias habuissem certe cogitassem ter antequam obulum expendissem".

³³ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 19 May 1583, 8 Sept. 1583.

³⁴ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 8 Sept. 1583, 19 Mar. 1584.

³⁵ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 2 June 1584.

³⁶ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 11 June 1588.

try to be more economical, because he was ashamed of spending so much money while his father lived in exile. But as a student he lived among *honesti adolescentes* and had to adapt to their spending patterns and it was difficult to live in a faraway place without money.³⁷ When he finally received another bill of exchange he was very pleased.

Study progress

The Roorda brothers frequently showed their diligence in the letters to their father. One of the first preserved letters, written by the eldest Johannes Roorda, mentions this.³⁸ During the first years of their university education, the Roorda brothers visited the *gymnasium tricoloratum* controlled by the Jesuits. The Jesuits took great care that the students paid attention to their studies, for in Cologne they were well-known for their stern discipline.

The *gymnasia* in Cologne which originated from the old *bursae* (student halls where students could eat and sleep cheaply) were closely connected to the Faculty of Arts. Most of the teaching took place at these *gymnasia*, while the faculty buildings were only used for conferring degrees, disputations and parties. The *gymnasia* had seven classes, and the top two where logic and physics were taught belonged to the Faculty of Arts.³⁹ It was in these highest classes that the Roorda brothers began their education. The eldest stayed with the Jesuits for two years until he took up residence in the 'Kronenburse' and began a law course.⁴⁰ He was very positive about the Jesuits: to him they were an example of erudition and piety worth following.⁴¹

The students also sent proof of their study progress back home. In 1583 the eldest Johannes sent his father an *Oratiuncula*, a brief lecture. Probably this was the undated *Oratio inveciwa in Herodem*,

³⁷ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 6 Jan. 1593.

³⁸ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 14 July 1583: "scio equidem patrem nihil aliud a me postulare quam ut diligenter studeam et virtutibus incumbam".

³⁹ Keussen, *Geschichte*, 324–325, 348–351. About the University of Cologne see Meuthen, *Die alte Universität Köln I*.

⁴⁰ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 2 June 1584; Ennen, *Geschichte IV*, 692, 700. Board at the Kronenburse, where Suffridus Petrus from Friesland was *regens*, was no less than sixty-four thalers. Johannes argued that he would have to pay a similar amount in other places.

⁴¹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 2 Dec. 1583.

which can be found in the collection of letters. Apart from this lecture, the letters that Johannes wrote to his father were also used to monitor his study progress. Apparently his father assumed a proportional correlation between the length of Johannes' study and the quality of his letters. The son begged to differ. He wrote that he only had a short time to write the letters because the messenger took them with him. However, the studies progressed favourably. The eldest Johannes Roorda studied so strenuously that his *praeceptores* (private tutors) had to restrain him because they worried that he would undermine his health.⁴² In his first letter Johannes Roorda wrote that he attended the rhetoric class. He provided information about the content of his studies, which showed that students had to read Aristotle's *De arte rhetorica* and had to study the *Institutionum dialecticarum libri octo* by Petrus Fonseca. His attention was, furthermore, devoted to grammar and syntax. The prefect of his study and his *praeceptor* Cornelius had already discussed which subject Johannes would subsequently tackle: an in-depth exploration of rhetoric or a study of poetics. The latter was Johannes' favourite, because it would enable him to write good poetry. However, rhetoric was seen as more important because without the skills learned there it was impossible to occupy a public position.⁴³

His uncle Johannes Roorda, however, who supervised his study in Cologne, had other plans. He wanted Johannes to be a law student. When he asked his uncle what the aim of his study would be, he answered that as a jurist Johannes would have an important position in society. Moving up to another form, which Johannes strongly preferred, was too expensive. At least four thalers had to be paid for an oration, while the accompanying pomp and circumstance was even more expensive. Johannes reconciled himself with his uncle's point of view, and asked his father for permission to follow this advice and to begin studying law. In fact he agreed with his uncle: a degree of *magister artium* was, indeed, expensive, because every stage of the exam had to be paid for.⁴⁴

⁴² RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 17 Mar. 1584.

⁴³ This skill was estimated so highly that somebody once said that the study of law only delivered *oratores et disputatores* and no academically trained *jurisconsulti*: Burmeister, *Das Studium der Rechte*, 19.

⁴⁴ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 17 Mar. 1584. The degree of *baccalaureus artium* cost three thalers, the *licentiatus artium* seven thalers, while a certain amount also had to be paid for the title of *magister artium*.

Apparently his father did not object to his change of subject, because in June Johannes Roorda asked his father to send him a copy of the *Corpus iuris civilis*. This could be the copy with or without glosses. In these he could check the laws which were discussed in the lectures. He also mentioned a number of other commentaries in the field of civil and canon law which he would like to have.⁴⁵ Johannes combined accommodation and study because he lived with the already mentioned Suffridus Petrus, his countryman, who was *regens* of the Kronenburse, and an learned man who was Johannes' lecturer as well as tutor. Moreover, Petrus was also a friend of his father.⁴⁶

As Johannes Roorda wrote at the beginning of 1587, the study was progressing favourably, but, unfortunately, there were no lectures at Cologne. Luckily, he learned a number of things from his landlord when the latter taught the *Institutiones* (an introduction to the study of law) to the juniors. His study programme was as follows: before supper he read the *Digest* and the *Codex* (parts of the *Corpus iuris civilis*), afterwards he was present at the disputations, if they were taking place. If not, then he was working on the *humaniores litterae*. He read the comments and the *Institutiones* simultaneously.⁴⁷

The youngest Johannes Roorda followed a similar programme. In 1588 he wrote that he had moved up to a higher rhetoric class, that he studied the *Orationes* of Cicero and worked on poetics.⁴⁸ However, he was not satisfied with the study programme. In an undated letter he wrote that he was indeed working on the *cursum physicae*, but out of a wish not to be rebellious. His father firmly lectured him about this: Johannes had promised more than once to complete the study of physics (part of the works of Aristotle). The son felt hurt: one could change one's opinion, could one not? He had little desire to study metaphysics, preferring the study of law. Nor did he

⁴⁵ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 17 Mar. 1584: "Cantiuncula vero qui scribit in 3 priores libros Institutionum Decium deinde et Dylum Muxellanum". Cantiuncula was a pupil of the famous jurist Zasius and the author of *Paraphrases in libros tres priores Institutionum Iustiniani imperatoris* (1549). Dynus Muxellanus was the author of *Commentaria in regulas iuris pontificii* (1552).

⁴⁶ Since 1577 Suffridus Petrus had been professor of law at Cologne and *regens* of the Kronenburse. He had restored that *bursa*, which was very ramshackle in 1578, to its old glory and gave private lectures there. Disputations were also held there and during meals the *regula iuris* were discussed. Keussen, *Geschichte*, 257.

⁴⁷ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 8 Feb. 1585.

⁴⁸ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, June 1588.

want to become *magister artium*, because he did not see the point of this. Moreover, there were only a few nobles who acquired the title of *magister artium*. Nevertheless, he wrote in 1591 that he was willing to contact doctor Moysenbroick about this subject, but in any case he preferred to wait a few months to see whether more students made this choice.⁴⁹

Johannes Roorda junior also mentions a number of things about the content of his study (incidentally, he studied law at Douai at that point). Before supper he read the *Paratitla Wesembecii* (Matthaeus Wesembecii *Paratitla in Pandectas iuris civilis*);⁵⁰ after he had done a few physical exercises he attended a number of lectures. Another part of his time he devoted to the revision of the four books of the *Institutiones*, a copy of which he had received from his father. It was his intention to complete his study with a licentiate or doctorate in law.⁵¹

A change of university

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a great number of students visited more than one university. As already mentioned in the introduction, it was fashionable to make a journey, a *peregrinatio*, to various universities and to study for a shorter or longer period during that journey. Though we know are well informed about patterns and general preferences of the *peregrinatio academica*, we know comparatively little about the individual motives for students' choices. We are well informed, though, about the motivation the eldest Johannes Roorda had for changing universities. He had a pragmatic argument: he could learn nothing new at Cologne.

Around June 1585 he disliked his studies at Cologne. There were no further lectures and hardly any disputations. That is why he asked his father permission to continue his study at Douai, where lectures were being given and furthermore he could also learn the French language and manners there.⁵² His uncle, however, intended to keep

⁴⁹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 31 Oct. ?; 27 May 1591.

⁵⁰ Matthias Wesembeke was a famous sixteenth-century jurist. Cf. the article by Corbellini and Verhoeven in this volume, pp. 255–256, 263.

⁵¹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 31 Oct. ?; 11 Sept. 1592; 23 Mar. 1594.

⁵² At the end of 1586 a cousin of Johannes Roorda, Johannes van Heringa, had the same reason for wanting to study at Douai: RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 15 Nov.

an eye on him and objected to a change of university. Because of this Johannes Roorda experienced a crisis and for a time hardly studied at all. He came to regret this later, after his father threatened him with drastic measures such as disinheritance if Johannes did not perform better.⁵³ Johannes subsequently asked Suffridus Petrus to support his plea for a change of university. Petrus was impressed with the diligence displayed by Johannes and expected him to carve out an important career as a jurist if he were to continue in this vein. In the meantime he had completed the study of the *Sentences* under the guidance of Petrus, who agreed with him that he must not stay at Cologne: this would lead to nothing but ruin.⁵⁴ Petrus held forth extensively on the place Johannes Roorda ought to continue his study. A stay in France was ill-advised because it was a dangerous country. The cities of Louvain and Douai remained. A comparatively large number of professors worked at Louvain and many books could be acquired there. Moreover, it was a nice place to live. There was one disadvantage, though: Petrus had been informed that the plague was about to break out there. A case could be made for Douai: Johannes could learn French there and it would not be difficult to send him money.⁵⁵ Father Hans Roorda, the recipient of Petrus' advice, had to make the decision. Petrus promised him that whatever decision he would make, he would give Johannes letters of recommendation for several professors.⁵⁶

Johannes Roorda got his way, since in October 1585 he wrote his father a letter from Douai. Suffridus Petrus was also true to his promise: around the turn of the year he had recommended Johannes to Ennius Boetius, professor at Douai.⁵⁷ After encountering many problems, Johannes succeeded in studying at another university.

1586. Johannes van Heringa was the son of Adius van Heringa, who was married to Anna Roorda, a sister of Hans Roorda.

⁵³ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 28 June 1585.

⁵⁴ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 22 May 1585: "ut autem Coloniae relinquatur mihi consultum non videtur propter obvias et prope inevitabilis occasiones potandi cui vitio si quis in iuventute sua assueverit, de eo ego spem omnem virtutis plane abiicio".

⁵⁵ This proved to be difficult: RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 11 June 1588. Messengers who delivered letters and took them with them were hard to come by. The youngest Roorda complained in December 1592 that it was three months ago since he had received a letter from his father: RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 10 Dec. 1592.

⁵⁶ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 22 May 1585.

⁵⁷ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 15 Oct. 1585; 22 Jan. 1586.

Apparently his younger brother did not encounter the same problem. He is silent about it in his letters.

Student life: joys but mainly sorrows

As a rule the Roorda brothers wrote about money and the lack thereof, about their health and about the progress of their studies. Their letters contain little information about the 'social' side of student life. Only a letter from 1585 informs us about the more colourful aspects of that kind of existence. Together with a number of other Frisians, Johannes Roorda was invited to a party for a fellow countryman who had become *magister artium*. There was plenty of drink on hand, but the participants only drank moderately. The next day Johannes visited an acquaintance; because it was evening he carried a sword. When he returned home he encountered Doco van Eminga⁵⁸ there, who was threatening the maid. When Johannes commented upon this Doco pulled his sword, after which Johannes and a few companions did the same. The landlord was drawn to the tumult and managed to split the parties. The next day Roorda and his companions apologized to the landlord, but Doco argued that it was all a lie. The landlord asked them to keep quiet about it, but the affair gave Johannes Roorda reason to leave the college and find accommodation elsewhere.⁵⁹

Furthermore there was only grief to speak of. In 1584 the eldest Johannes suffered a blow when he was informed that his sister Ath had died. He tried to comfort his father by saying that she had entered permanent salvation, while those alive had an increasingly dismal existence because of their continued exile. In the same letter he wrote that, apart from the death of his sisters, he also had another reason to be sad: rumours had been spread about and he wanted to inform his father about them. A man from Leeuwarden, an Anabaptist whom he called Ruardus, had arrived in Cologne. He was a distant relative of the wife of the landlord of Johannes (probably Suffridus Petrus). Ruardus also lived in the house, and defended

⁵⁸ Doco enrolled at the University of Cologne on 7 Dec. 1582. He became a lawyer at the Court of Friesland, he died in 1625: *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, IV, 134–143; De Haan Hetteema, *Stamboek*, II, 286.

⁵⁹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 31 July 1585.

his sect by attacking the Catholic Church and the Spanish King because of their cruelty and tyranny. Johannes Roorda argued that the state ought to be rightfully liberated from the plague of heresy and added to this that he was prepared to help kill all heretics. The Anabaptist did not reply to this but he subsequently blackened Johannes' reputation behind his back. His landlord had advised him to inform his father himself about the incident so that the latter did not need to worry about this rumour.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the Roorda students informed their father about political developments. In several letters from 1583 the eldest Johannes described the struggle between the Archbishop Gebhard Truchseß von Waldburg from Cologne, who had Protestant inclinations and was excommunicated, and his opponent Ernst von Bayern who was a strict Catholic. Hans Roorda had been anxious about the fate of the Catholic religion in Cologne but Ernst von Bayern gained the victory.⁶¹ Both sons also mentioned news about acquaintances and friends. The eldest Johannes related in 1585 that Volkert van Achelen, "filius praesidis nostri", had studied in such a way that he was able to acquire his doctoral degree.⁶² At the same time they frequently passed on best wishes from friends and acquaintances.

Like their father, the sons were convinced Catholics. Mention has already been made of the discord about faith between the eldest Johannes and an Anabaptist, when Johannes was in favour of a hard-line approach to heretics. The youngest also wrote once that he was glad to be a child of Catholic parents who would rather lose their possessions than their faith.⁶³

The brothers' health was another problem. Both suffered from health problems when they studied at Douai. In a letter from June 1588 the eldest Roorda complained about pain in his stomach and intestines, an illness which physicians called *febris calida*. However, Johannes himself was afraid that he suffered from *la maladie ethique*, that is consumption. His complaints persisted for longer than three months and the illness cost him a great deal of money. The money

⁶⁰ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 4 Sept. 1584.

⁶¹ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 9 May 1583; 8 Sept. 1583. About the struggle: Ennen, *Geschichte* IV, 168–178; Schindling and Ziegler, *Die Territorien des Reichs*, 74–76.

⁶² RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 8 Feb. 1585. Volkert van Achelen graduated at the University of Cologne in 1579: *Matrikel*, ed. Keussen, IV, 120–126.

⁶³ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 28 Mar. 1594.

he received from his father was spent on the cost of physicians and he even had had to sell his copies of the *Corpus iuris civilis*.⁶⁴

Not long after, on 1 August 1588, Johannes Roorda died of “flegmata phtisum et iis accedentem melancholiam”. Present at his deathbed were Galenus Buwalda, who had just acquired his degree at Douai, and Herman Moysenbroick. On his deathbed Johannes Roorda asked to be buried in Saint Peter’s Church in Douai. He simultaneously asked the people present to sell his clothes and books, give his regards to his father and his friends, deliver the letters in his possession to his father and pay his creditors. The vice-chancellor, the professors of law and a great number of students were present at his funeral.

Moysenbroick fulfilled the last wish of Johannes Roorda and sold his possessions. They were worth eleven guilders and eleven pennies, enabling him to pay for the funeral. He also paid Johannes’ debts, an amount of 159 guilders and fifteen pennies of which three guilders went to the physician, forty-one to the pharmacist and seventy to the landlord. Moysenbroick passed the bill on to Hans Roorda.⁶⁵

The younger Johannes also had to contend with physical discomfort during his stay at Douai. At a certain moment his right eye pained him so much that he was afraid it had to be removed. Fortunately, a very capable surgeon was staying in Douai by chance and he succeeded in saving the eye but it cost Johannes dearly financially. He blamed his eye complaint on his continuous study. In March 1594 Johannes complained about his health again. He had been unable to eat, while his limbs were painful and supple. The physician had advised him to go to another place and stop studying in order to rest his mind. He would have followed that advice were it not for the fact that he did not have any money. However, he recovered and continued his study. His father worried greatly because he suspected that the illness was caused by melancholy. However, Johannes said that he had no reason to be melancholic. Shortly afterwards Johannes Roorda must have gone to Emden, where he died before April 1595.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 11 June 1588. He had received another copy from Galenus Buwalda, who had acquired the degree of *licentiatius iuris*, and asked his father to give Buwalda three guilders.

⁶⁵ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 19 Aug. 1588.

⁶⁶ RAF, EVC, inv. nr. 381, 29 Dec. ?; 6 Jan. 1593; 8 Mar. 1594; 23 Mar. 1594. Melancholy was considered a serious illness.

Conclusion

In this article I have tried to say something about the lives of students at the end of the sixteenth century on the basis of the preserved letters of the Roorda brothers. It is of course a matter of debate whether the letters are representative for all students of that time,⁶⁷ but the least they can do is give us an impression of student life in the late sixteenth century, and inform us about individual motives behind the *peregrinatio academica* beyond what we know about general patterns. As far as the progress of their university education was concerned, nothing unusual happened to the two Roorda brothers: after having studied at the faculty of arts for a number of years (without completing their study with the degree of *magister artium*) they began the study of law, which at that time offered a promising future. Because the brothers died at a fairly young age they did not have a career. Incidentally, their Catholic background would have made a career in their native country an impossibility. They would not have been considered for an appointment in the Frisian government administration.

Although the father, Hans Roorda, lived the life of an exile, he was quite well off financially. The allowance received by the brothers was not a generous one, but they were able to manage, only getting into trouble when their money arrived late or when they had to deal with high expenses because of illnesses. Moreover, the brothers could count on the support of acquaintances and friends, at least when they studied at Cologne. For students who were less well endowed with earthly goods, the struggle of daily life must have been substantially more difficult.

⁶⁷ Similar difficulties were experienced by Wigboldus Bywema from Groningen, who studied at Louvain around 1552: Van der Laan, 'Alias de meis studiis', 26.

THE PORTRAYAL OF STUDENT LIFE AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD¹

Ilja M. Veldman

The history of the European universities is well studied during the latest decennia, not in the least thanks to the research of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens. The visual representation of universities and their populations, however, is rather neglected. Visual sources from the past ages are rare, but we need a survey and an analysis of this material.²

I shall not attempt to fill this gap, and since the subject of this article is necessarily restricted, I shall concentrate upon a few print books and print series, published in the first quarter of the seventeenth century in Germany and the Netherlands. These representations should be seen in the light of the rise and the professionalism of printmaking in the North in the second half of the sixteenth century. Artists began to pass on their designs to professional engravers and specialist print publishers; prints became available in ever larger editions and were eagerly purchased and collected, predominantly by the upper and middle classes. Apart from their aesthetic qualities, they were produced as a source of visual information, for most prints were accompanied by explanatory poems or other texts. Combining text and image and enjoying a relatively widespread distribution, they were an influential form of communication and a superb didactic vehicle for the diffusion of styles and compositions as well as the propagation of knowledge, norms and values.

The engraved and etched representations of universities and student life which I shall discuss here belong to the last category. Although they were all produced within a relatively short period of time (between 1606 and 1612), their aims and intended public were slightly different. This, though, should remind us of the necessity of

¹ I am indebted to Michael Hoyle and Arthur Marfleet for their translations and assistance with the English text.

² Rainer Müller's *Geschichte der Universität* (1990), for instance, is well-illustrated but, as too often, the text hardly analyzes the illustrations, and the captions are far too insubstantial.

relating the form and content of each artistic product to its contemporary function.

The prints of the Collegium Illustre at Tübingen (1606–08)

The idea for an informative print series devoted to an institute of higher learning probably originated in Germany. A print book of twelve prints and a title plate, etched by Ludwig Ditzinger after designs by Johann Christoph Neyffer, dated around 1606–08, is to my knowledge the first example of this kind. According to its title, *Illustrissimi Wirtembergici ducalis novi collegii, quod Tubingae qua situm que studia qua exercitia accurata delineatio*, it contains not only views of the buildings and halls of the Collegium Illustre that Duke Ludwig of Württemberg had founded at Tübingen, but also illustrations of study and sports.³ Like most print series of this period, they were sold in the form of loose sheets, so their purchasers could bind them into albums according their own preferences. Specimens, however, have become extremely rare because most albums were dismantled later on.⁴

The Collegium Illustre was founded by the Duke of Württemberg in 1593. It officially opened one year later. Ludwig's son, Duke Friedrich, transformed the Collegium into a famous riding academy for the Protestant nobility. Being a boarding school, it became a favourite college for the sons of noble families of the whole of Europe. The school employed a riding instructor, a fencing master, a ball master and a dancing master. Only the latter activity is excluded from the illustrations, perhaps in an attempt not to stress the 'weaker' pleasures of life.

The print book opens with an etched title plate and a frontispiece, decorated with symbols of education: musical instruments, books but especially arms. The etched text gives a short introduction of the history and objectives of the Collegium. It especially stresses the possibility to practise many forms of sport and physical training. The

³ Hollstein, *German Engravings* VI, 226. See *Universität Tübingen*, 106–25, figs. 110–111, 114–115, Müller, *Geschichte der Universität*, fig. 144.

⁴ I found two series of the *Illustrissimi Wirtembergici ducalis* in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart: one separately bound (R 17 Ney 1) and missing print no. 12; the other one bound in an album with the title *Schöne lustige Antiquiteten und denckwürdige Historien*, Cod. hist. 8, 218, f. 242–248 (composed c.1618).

designer and the etcher of the prints were local craftsmen from Tübingen; no print publisher is mentioned. The plates were undoubtedly produced at the instigation of the governors of the school, perhaps even on the initiative of the Duke of Württemberg himself. They served as an illustrated prospectus on behalf of (prospective) students and their parents, by showing the buildings, interiors, sports fields and other facilities, all accompanied by descriptive Latin poems.

The book opens with depictions of the exterior of the building, and the interior of its dining hall, the lecture hall and the library. The content of the lectures was not too scientific, and the subjects rather restricted. The verse on the *Lecture hall* (plate 4.1) is rather clear in this respect, telling that “in this room dukes, counts, barons and young nobles are learning how to command their subjects”. No wonder that the other seven illustrations mirror the emphasis laid on physical training. They are all devoted to sports rooms (for instance a fencing school) and fields for open-air sports, including common activities for nobles such as archery, shooting with fire-arms, horse-racing and riding while tilting at the ring. Indoor and outdoor ball games belonged to the modern paedagogical objectives. The *Tennis court* (plate 4.2) shows a game of real (or royal) tennis, as this descendant of the French *jeu de paume* was known. It became the most popular ball game among nobles and wealthy burghers in the course of the seventeenth century, and it was played with racquets and a net between two sides in special indoor courts. According to the verse it was Apollo, “who invented balls and threw them up with his hands into the air”. Another game, balloon, was played outdoors with a larger, inflated leather ball struck with the hand, which was protected by a cork brace that extended up the forearm (plate 4.3). The Tübingen students played the game on a field outside the city, in the garden in front of the Lustnauer Gate. The figure at lower left is the ball master, whose task it was to keep the balls inflated. It is remarkable that the poems hardly mention the salutary aspects of ball games, for which they—and especially court tennis—were so highly recommended by educationists in the sixteenth century.⁵

Some of the prints with recreational themes are similar those preserved in *alba amicorum* or *Stammbücher*.⁶ *Alba amicorum* first caught on

⁵ De Bondt, *Tennis*, 31–34.

⁶ For examples of royal tennis see a drawing in the album belonging to Johann Heinrich von Offenburg (Tübingen 1598), see *Universität Tübingen*, fig. 121, and a drawing dated 1603 in the *Stammbuch* of Johann Michael Weckherlin (Württembergische

in German universities before spreading to other groups of the elite. They were originally printed books of a handy size interleaved with blank pages on which professional *Briefmaler*, teachers or fellow students could write down, paste or draw personal mementos. Emblem books, too, were used for the same purpose, as were books with coats of arms and books of trades. The Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend began printing special *libri amicorum* in 1579 that contained proverbs and empty coats of arms which could be filled in by the contributors. As time passed, the illustrations came to predominate, and books with blank pages came into use.⁷ The designer of the prints of the *Illustrissimi Wirtembergici ducalis*, the further unknown and not too gifted Christoph Neyffer, probably worked as a *Briefmaler* himself. His designs, nor Ditzinger's etchings, excel in aesthetic or technical qualities, but they are certainly informative.

Willem van Swanenburg and the views of Leiden University (1610)

Around the same time, other institutes of higher learning started similar campaigns of visual advertising. The first university in the Northern Netherlands was that of Leiden, founded in 1575 by the States of Holland and William the Silent in gratitude for the city's courageous stand during its siege by the Spanish. It strove from the very outset to attract the best professors, and drew its students from the length and breadth of Europe, most notably among Protestants from the German countries, France and England.⁸ Around 1600, Leiden became an important centre of printmaking and book publishing, not in the least thanks to the painter and engraver Jacques de Gheyn the Younger. The Leiden painter and engraver Willem van Swanenburg, the son of a Leiden alderman and burgomaster, had connections with the university. He portrayed and engraved a number of famous Leiden professors (among whom Hugo Grotius,

Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Hist. 8, 218, f. 178r). In the same *Stammbuch* we find a comparable illustration of a fencing school (dated 1603; f. 178r) and of the game of tilt at the ring (f. 231).

⁷ For the history of the *album amicorum* see Amelung, 'Stammbücher', 211–222, and Parshall, 'Theatre of Knowledge', 10–15.

⁸ See, for instance, *De Leidse universiteit 400*, Ekkart, *Athenae Batavae*, and Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame*.

Daniël Heinsius, Janus Dousa, Carolus Clusius and Petrus Scriverius); the Leiden publisher and bookseller Andries Cloucq published thirty-four of these portraits in the *Icones ad vivum delineatae et expressae, virorum clariorum qui praecipue scriptis Academiam Lugduno Batavam illustrarunt* (1609).

In 1610 Andries Cloucq published a series of four large prints engraved by Willem van Swanenburg after designs of the Leiden artist Jan Cornelis van 't Woudt (Woudanus). They depict the most important buildings and halls of Leiden University: the anatomy theatre (plate 4.4), the library, the botanical garden and the fencing school.⁹ All were housed in the former Faliède Bagijnhof Church between Rapenburg, Kloksteeg and Donkere Gracht, which had been converted into a university annexe in 1595.

Contrary to the Collegium Illustre in Tübingen, Leiden was a true university, aimed at learning and sciences. It had become one of the largest universities in Europe by 1610. The *Views of Leiden University* not only filled a need for visual information for prospective students and their families, but also for visitors and participants of the Grand Tour, who could bring the pictures home as a souvenir.¹⁰ Considering their monumental size (33.0 × 40.0 cm) the prints could be hung on the wall, and probably many of them were. The focus is on representative interiors of the university, and little attention goes to the depiction of students or their occupations. The prints would therefore have served especially as a showpiece or as business gifts for the purpose of proud governors, professors and promoters of the university. It was probably an initiative from those circles, who found a willing ear and able hand in Van Swanenburg, Van 't Woud and Cloucq for the realisation of the project.

Within one year Cloucq produced a second edition; the bottoms of the prints were enlarged with a strip of paper on which extensive explanations of the images were printed, in German, Latin and French.¹¹ This confirms the supposition that they were intended for an international public and had to be informative. By their aesthetic and technical qualities, Swanenburg's four prints tower above the

⁹ Hollstein, *Dutch Engravings XXIX*, nos. 29–32; for a detailed description of the prints see Ekkart, *Leidse universiteit in 1610*.

¹⁰ For the Grand Tour see Frank-van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour*, and De Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility'.

¹¹ With the exception of *The library*, which has texts in Dutch, Latin and French.

small and rather crude etchings by Ditzinger. As far as we know, Van 't Woud's interiors rather truthfully depict the situation. This certainly will have ensured their success. Three decades later, in 1644, the Amsterdam print publisher Claes Janszoon Visscher produced a third edition.

The most modern and famous facility of Leiden University was the dissection room, which took the form of a classical amphitheatre (plate 4.4). When it was opened in 1593 it was one of the first in Europe.¹² It was on the top floor of the former Bagijnhof Church, behind the library. The audience entered the theatre down the steps beside the instrument cabinet. There were regular anatomy lessons, which were also attended by paying spectators who were entitled to front-row seats. The students themselves had to follow the lessons standing up. The intermittent supply of cadavers, however, meant that dissections were infrequent. Moreover, they only took place in winter, because of the temperature. In summer the room was turned into a museum displaying human and animal skeletons, which held labels bearing proverbs about transience in Van Swanenburg's print.

Donations and bequests had made the library very well-stocked by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The books were not loaned out but were chained on open shelves in two rows of eleven lecterns each. In front of each shelf was a ledge to place the books on, so that they could be read whilst standing up. Van Swanenburg gives a rather faithful picture of the situation. Even the identifications of the various disciplines on the bookshelves are present. There are also the two globes with dust covers on a bookcase, gifts from the Leiden professor Joseph Scaliger, who had died in 1609. Two painted portraits of William the Silent and Prince Maurice, which the latter had presented to the university, are on the rear wall.¹³

The Botanical garden in Leiden stood (as it does today) behind the Academy Building on Rapenburg. It was laid out by the famous botanist Carolus Clusius, who was brought to Leiden especially for the purpose. The garden, where all sorts of species were grown in addition to herbs and plants for medicinal use, soon became a local attraction. The building running along the back of the garden in

¹² See Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 94–95, for the impression that the anatomy theatre made on English travellers; see also Rupp, 'Matters of Life'.

¹³ Ekkart, 'De Leidse Bibliotheek'.

the print contained the *ambulacrum*, where delicate plants were stored in winter, as well as a natural history collection and a lecture hall. Van Swanenburg depicted various objects from the *ambulacrum* collection in his lower border.¹⁴

A fencing school was not only common at riding academies, but also belonged to the facilities of Leiden University. The students (with the exception of the exhibitioners receiving an allowance and those studying theology) always wore a dagger or rapier in public, so lessons in how to use them were eminently advisable. A famous fencing-master was the mathematician Ludolf van Ceulen, who died in 1610, the year the print was published.¹⁵ The Leiden sports hall was on the ground floor of the Faliede Bagijnhof Church. On the evidence of Van Swanenburg's print, it was used not just for fencing but for musket shooting, exercising with banners and practising the finer points of horsemanship as well. This representation is rather a showpiece of possible activities, which will not have taken place in the hall at the same time.

Crispijn de Passe's Academia (1612)

The engraver and print publisher Crispijn de Passe, a Mennonite, had to leave Antwerp in 1589 and emigrated to Cologne. In 1611 he had to leave Cologne as well and settled in Utrecht. The next year he published the print book *Academia sive speculum vitae scolasticae* (The university, or mirror of student life).¹⁶ De Passe made the drawings and, with help of his pupils, the engravings. He was undoubtedly familiar with the work of both his forerunners, Ludwig Ditzinger and Willem van Swanenburg. De Passe's *Academia* has the same oblong quarto format as Ditzinger's *Illustrissimi Wirtenbergici ducalis*, and it also contains twelve prints with Latin fourliners, but his intention

¹⁴ See Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 94, for eyewitness accounts of the lectures given in this botanical garden.

¹⁵ See also De Vrankrijker, *Studentenleven*, 172–175.

¹⁶ I found complete bound copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Z.2608), and two in the Research Library of The New York Public Library (MEM P 287 PA, and the Spencer Collection, Neth. 1612). For a detailed discussion of this print-book, the reproduction of the prints and the translation of the Latin verses and commentaries by Clara Klein, see Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure*, 33–52, 149–167, and figs. 37–53.

was more ambitious. In addition to the engraved poems, there is a letterpress commentary in Latin on each facing page consisting of a scholarly discussion of the history and background of the subjects depicted (which reminds us of the descriptions on the 1611 edition of the Van Swanenburg prints). De Passe produced these typographical pages thanks to his cooperation with the Arnhem printer and bookseller Jan Janszoon with whom he jointly published the book.

The *Academia* is not only a 'true book' but is also more diverse in content. De Passe not only shows the workings of a university, but he also gives ample visual and textual information on academic habits and the recreational aspects. Seven prints illustrate the serious side of academic life, the final eight the leisure pursuits of the students, emphasizing the human side of student life. So we meet the depictions of a young student leaving home (plate 4.5), the initiation at university (plate 4.6), the doctorate ceremony (plate 4.8), and the invitation to the doctorate ceremony (plate 4.9). As to the leisure pursuits of students, he depicted not only fencing, dancing, music-making and painting (which were all part of a proper education), but also peripheral, however highly characteristic, phenomena of student life, such as visiting taverns and a nocturnal serenade (plate 4.10).

De Passe explains the purpose of his book in the Latin poem on the engraved title page: anybody who wishes to know about studying and the life of students will be able to gather from these illustrations how much toil the honour of a title demands and how students alternate seriousness with light-hearted play. His intention is amplified in the printed Latin foreword. The detailed scenes of university life are intended for those who are about to go and study at academies of sciences; on the one hand the publisher wishes to whet their appetite for the laudable and serious sides of student life, and on the other hand hopes to deter them from the more dubious pursuits indulged in by less virtuous students. He admits that people are drawn to different pleasures and pursuits, but with the aid of his book the student will learn to distinguish the path of virtue from that of vice. Instead of "drowning in swamps of futilities and falling into an unending decline", they can prepare themselves for their adult lives, earn an everlasting reward with honourable labour, and be a blessing to their friends and fatherland.¹⁷

¹⁷ For a transcription and translation of the Latin title page and preface, see Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure*, 149–151.

This foreword is not just propaganda for universities and learning; it also advertises the salutary effect the book will have on the morals of students. The ways in which students spend their free time could indeed sometimes lead to excess, and thus should be avoided. Although the University of Leiden is only mentioned once in the book (in the Latin commentary on the *Botanical garden*) it is clear that De Passe based his presentation chiefly on Leiden—the other Dutch university, the one of Franeker founded in 1585, was much smaller and less well-known. De Passe was perhaps encouraged to publish his book by his friend Aernout van Buchell, who wrote many Latin poems for De Passe's prints and commentaries and laudatory verses for his print books. Van Buchell had enrolled at Leiden University in 1583 and graduated as a lawyer there in 1593.¹⁸ The fact that the commentaries display a knowledge of medical matters would have been due to the Leiden professor and physician Everardus Vorstius, Van Buchell's friend and brother-in-law. Vorstius served several terms as Rector Magnificus of the university, one of them in the year the *Academia* was published.¹⁹

The first print serves as an introduction (plate 4.5). It depicts the good example of a young, studious boy, with a book under his arm, leaving his parental home without any distress and ready to go off to a university town. Next to him we see a slightly older youth receiving money from his father and a chicken from his mother. The poem says that he should have left home earlier, for "mother-love makes for weaklings, and a teacher's guidance will be beneficial". The commentary praises parents who give their children the chance to get a good education, and send children away from home at an early age.

The prints that follow show what a boy could expect at university. As in *Illustrissimi Wirtembergi ducalis* there are depictions of a library, a lecture hall, a fencing school, a tennis court and a playing field for the ball game. De Passe's depictions of the university library,

¹⁸ See *Album studiosorum*, 14, for Van Buchell's enrolment, and the *Diarium Everardi Bronchorstii*, 51, for his graduation. The commentary to the print *Invitation to the doctorate ceremony* deals specifically with the legal faculty. For Van Buchell's engagement for prints and his relationship with Crispijn de Passe see Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe*, Chapter 7.

¹⁹ See Pollman, *Religious choice in the Dutch Republic*, 116, and *Album studiosorum* for Vorstius' rectorate.

anatomy theatre and botanical garden are based on three of Van Swanenburg's prints. Firstly students are seen attending a lecture, the professor is wearing a long black gown. The students are seated on wooden benches with writing tablets on their laps. The hall is so crowded that some boys are forced to sit on the window sills.

Fraternity initiation rituals, which were common in German universities, were also introduced in the Netherlands. The new students were subjected to a variety of indignities. De Passe's print (plate 4.6), which looks more like a display of torture techniques than a fraternal gathering, shows how the first-year students were laid on a workbench and threatened and mistreated by masked students wearing caps with asses' ears and armed with bells and whips. Lying on the floor in the foreground is a large saw used to threaten the freshman with dismemberment, and in the background a young student is being mock-quartered. The intention, the poem says, is to cure the freshman of his uncouth behaviour and turn him into a well-mannered person. The symbol of this 'reincarnation' was the removal of the horns (in reality a fool's cap or a cap with asses' ears), or *depositio cornuum*, which became the term for initiation. Besides, *Cornuti* was a satirical name for 'patients' suffering from *cornua* (horns sprouting from the head), whose disreputable lifestyle made them incurable. The condition was said to be particularly prevalent at academies with a poor climate (Amsterdam, Utrecht, Stettin, Lübeck, Bremen, Paderborn and Düsseldorf).²⁰

Although one wonders whether the senior students also put on fool's caps as they do in De Passe's print, that is certainly the case in satirical illustrations of the rituals on which De Passe modelled his engraving. Johan Dinckel (Dinckelius), a professor at the University of Erfurt, explains the origins, causes and customs of the initiation ritual in his *De origine, causis, typo, et ceremoniis illius ritus, qui vulgo in scholis DEPOSITIO appellatur* (Erfurt 1578), which also contains the *Iudicium reverendi patris D. Doctoris Martini Lutheri, de depositione in ACADEMIIS vsitata* (1540; Martin Luther's opinion concerning student initiation as practised at academies) and Friedrich Widebrand's *Typus depositionis scholasticae, heroico carmine descriptus* (1569; The nature of aca-

²⁰ See the satirical *Nugae Venales sive Thesaurus ridendi & iocandi*, 1663: "Prostant apud neminem, sed tamen ubique" (Offered for sale nowhere, but nevertheless everywhere), 168-190.

demic initiation described in an epic poem).²¹ All three writers are highly critical of the practice and issue numerous warnings about it. The book contains four satirical woodcuts showing both the newcomers and the seniors wearing fool's caps in order to highlight the stupidity of the whole business. The seniors are masked, as they are in the De Passe's print. One of the woodcuts shows a freshman whose head (and thus his character) is being polished with a huge grindstone, and in another he is being literally planed down on a workbench. In a third woodcut a freshman is lying on a bench while two students menace him with an axe and a pair of pincers (plate 4.7).²² The affinities with De Passe's representation indicates that he knew these illustrations.

Given the widespread criticism of student initiation as reflected in Dinckel's *De origine*, it is hardly surprising to find it described as a barbaric ritual in the commentary on De Passe's print. The rituals occasionally went too far. An edict condemning the harshness of the initiation rites was issued in Franeker in 1601, and in 1606 the practice was banned there altogether because it was bringing the university into disrepute, and all the ritual instruments were confiscated.²³

Another scene which does not figure in Ditzinger's series, nor in Van Swanenburgh's, is the depiction of the award of a doctorate (plate 4.8). De Passe shows the professors seated in a semicircle with the candidate standing before his *promotor* in the cathedra. In the aisle stands the beadle with his mace, while students and other spectators are seated on the benches. A diploma, a gold ring and a beret were the outward attributes of the degree, and they are also mentioned in the poem.²⁴ According to the commentary, the titles and attributes heighten the dignity and authority of the doctors, and their appellation is equal to the titles of counts and knights.

There were various customs governing the invitation of friends, acquaintances and dignitaries to the ceremony at which the degree was awarded. De Passe's print (plate 4.9) shows not the Leiden usage, where the candidate used to call at the houses of the professors,

²¹ Copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague) (3023 F 41); the 1582 edition (printed by Wilhelm Ross in Magdeburg) is 818 G 28.

²² This woodcut is reproduced in Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure*, fig. XIV.

²³ De Vrankrijker, *Studentenleven*, 124.

²⁴ De Vrankrijker, *Studentenleven*, 77–79, *Leidse universiteit 400*, p. 49. See, for instance, Van Strien, *British Travellers*, 146–147, for a firsthand seventeenth-century description of the award of a doctorate in Leiden.

friends and city dignitaries the day before, preceded by the two beadles with their staffs. Instead he depicted the public ceremony in use at the University of Franeker, where the candidate, accompanied by his fellow students, paraded through the streets to trumpet flourishes, which was known as the *celebris deductio per urbem*.²⁵

The next eight prints illustrate the "light-hearted play" mentioned on the title print, as well as the less salubrious activities which De Passe speaks of in his foreword. When Leiden University was founded, its governing council was empowered by royal patent to make adequate provision for the healthy recreation of the students.²⁶ The governors set up riding and fencing schools, and employed a dancing master not just to keep the students profitably occupied during their free time but also to attract the sons of aristocrats and wealthy regents rounding off their education with a Grand Tour. Organized activities of this kind were very necessary. Not only were many of the students very young and living in lodgings without the supervision of their parents, but the curriculum included a remarkably large number of days when there were no lectures to be attended, and the devil could always find work for idle hands.²⁷

De Passe depicted lessons in fencing and in dancing, but also a company singing and playing instruments in a music room. Two girls are being tugged through the door to heighten the merriment. According to the verse music softens the hardest heart, makes the sad merry and refreshes a mind fatigued by onerous study. A young man of good family was also expected to paint. In De Passe's print a student is working on a lady's portrait. The commentary relates that prominent personages and world leaders (among them the Emperors Hadrian, Antoninus and Rudolph II) were fond of taking up the brush themselves.

Having been shown the useful forms of pastime, the reader now arrives at the less wholesome ways in which students tended to fill their spare time. Visits to the tavern were extremely popular, for the university was no boarding school and a student's rooms were not very comfortable. As a result they spent much of their time overindulging at inns. De Passe shows the interior of a tavern; people are playing tric-trac and are kissing as food and drink are being served,

²⁵ De Vrankrijker, *Studentenleven*, 80.

²⁶ De Bondt, *Tennis*, 98.

²⁷ De Vrankrijker, *Studentenleven*, 40, 66 and 137; *De Leidse universiteit* 400, 51.

but a fool behind an amorous couple is tapping the man on the shoulder as a warning. The commentary says that chastity and moderate drinking befit the Muses and Apollo, but that the combination of wine, dicing and intimacy with women ruin a scholar's character.

An equally uncivilized form of behaviour is when one becomes amorous in one's cups and then goes and stands beneath a girl's window in the middle of the night and serenade her (plate 4.10). The fact that the young men are wearing funny hats and masks with long beards and whiskers merely underlines their boorishness. The drunkard's nocturnal escapade is punished by the nightwatchmen, who beat noisy students with clubs and throw them in chains, according to the poem and the commentary, and that is indeed what is happening in the background. The commentary, once again a poem, says that an infatuated student who drunkenly stands playing music outside his girlfriend's door will constantly be looking for new sweethearts, chasing his own misfortune like a fool. That the punishment of being beaten by the police was no exaggeration is shown by an entry in the diary of Everardus Bronchorst, professor of law at Leiden, who went out for an evening's merrymaking on 16 December 1607. All that he and his companions were doing was laughing a bit uproariously, but that was enough for armed nightwatchmen to shoot one of the students, who died on the spot.²⁸

Serenading a beauty who has caught one's eye certainly seems to have been a popular student pastime. This is also demonstrated by a drawing in the *album amicorum* of Johann Michael Weckherlin. The scene is similar to De Passe's, although the students are not masked. Here too the courtship ritual leads to a quarrel, for two men are engaged in a sword-fight in the background.²⁹

The *Academia* closes with two prints devoted to ball sports, which were also represented in *Illustrissimi Wirtenbergici ducalis*. But De Passe's print of the indoor tennis court is more truthful and informative, giving a better view of the spectators' gallery with its sloping roof

²⁸ *Diarium Everardi Bronchorstii*, 12 and 118.

²⁹ Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod. hist. 8, 218, f. 332v. Reproduced by Müller, *Geschichte der Universität*, and Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure*, fig. XVI. The drawing was apparently based on events that took place in Tübingen on three days in September 1601 ('Actum Tübingae dieb[us] 6 & 17 & 29 Septembris Anno 1601'). Another page in the same *album amicorum* (f. 264v) has a drawing made in Stuttgart in 1603 of another nocturnal street concert by students.

running the full length of one of the side walls. The private court in Leiden, which is probably the one depicted, was in Noordeinde, a few hundred yards from the Academy Building, and had to be hired, so was effectively reserved for a select public.³⁰ The verse tells us that the game restores the strength in the weakened body, and is good for a mind overwhelmed by ceaseless study. The commentary explains in detail that the efforts of the mind often make the body lethargic and that is why the game with the small ball is of such benefit to studious youth, enabling them to maintain their fitness and health. The commentary ends with the observation that the mind inevitably weakens if the body is in poor condition.

The outdoor game balloon, played with an inflated leather ball, is also depicted by De Passe. We notice clearly the protecting cork braces that extended the forearm. According to the commentary, this game was also recommended by the ancient physicians, both for healthy people and for those recovering from an illness. The playing field in Leiden lay outside the Rijnsburg Gate, and had been provided on the insistence of a group of foreign students who complained about the lack of sports facilities. The pitch was open to the public, which explains the spectators in the print. Since the ball regularly ended up in the water bordering the playing field, and the general public were also able to use the pitch, the students were later given a field of their own.³¹

The *Academia*, then, is both illustrative of the workings of a university and of the pursuits of young men of good family. The kind of education propagated still retained traces of the system followed by the 'perfect courtier' as described in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), and it was still existent in the time of Philips van Marnix, Lord of Sint-Aldegonde and Constantijn Huygens.³² The book would have appealed not only to prospective and advanced students but also to those curious to learn how a university operated and to young, aristocratic or wealthy foreigners who were thinking about their Grand Tour. In spite of the references to Leiden University

³⁰ De Bondt, *Tennis*, 101–102.

³¹ Kist, 'Recreatie', De Bondt, *Tennis*, 98–99.

³² See Castiglione, *The Courtier*; see also Ellenius, *Arte Pingendi* 224–225. Also compare the *Ratio instituendae iuventutis* (1583) of Philips van Marnix, Lord of Sint-Aldegonde (published in 1615), see De Wit-van Westerhuis & Van Velzen, *Opvoeding van de jeugd*.

both in word and image, it did not serve as a showpiece of one specific institute. The book is propagating the benefits of knowledge and learning in general, but moreover—and this is quite in line with De Passe's personal beliefs and concerns—it tries to edify young people by teaching them to distinguish between the path of virtue and that of vice.

Student life and alba amicorum

De Passe mentioned in his foreword that he intended the *Academia* also as an *album amicorum* for studious young people. And indeed, as we have seen, the subjects of his prints mesh nicely with those in extant German *alba amicorum*. The genre, according to De Passe, had become very popular and seemed to have offered nice commercial prospects for a print publisher, for, as was said before, prints books often served as *alba amicorum*, and could be supplemented with other prints or drawings.³³

The *Academia* was not the only book imitating an *album amicorum*. The print publisher Jacob van der Heyden had published an anthology of sixteen prints with German and Latin poems in Strasbourg in 1608, called *Pugillus facetiarum iconographicarum in studiosorum potissimum gratiam ex proprijs eorundem Albis desumptarum; et iam primum hac forma editarum. Allerhand Kurtzweilige Stücklein, allen Studenten furnemblich zu lieb auss Ihren eigenen Stambüchern zusammen gelesen und in dise form gebracht* (A handful of illustrated witticisms, chiefly for the benefit of students and taken from their own albums).³⁴ The *Pugillus*, however, is not an objective report on student life, but a rather motley collection of entertaining or instructive scenes. The subjects are erotic, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, or allegorical references to death and sin.³⁵

³³ One of the few surviving copies of De Passe's *Academia* (the copy in the New York Public Library MEM P 287 PA) has indeed several blank pages at the beginning and end. For De Passe's prints and *alba amicorum* see Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe*, chapter 5.

³⁴ Hollstein, *German Engravings* XIII, 186, Kemp, *Vita Corneliana*, 62 and fig. 3. Not a single complete copy of the *Pugillus* has survived. Erman and Horn, *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten*, 826–882 (nr. 17328), supply a list of the prints in an edition probably dating from 1608 which they found in a *Stammbuch* begun in 1609 by David Müller in Breslau.

³⁵ In 1610, the prints were copied in the *Jeucht-spieghel*, a book containing fourteen prints and letterpress poems in Dutch by Zacharias Heyns, most of them warning

In 1618, Van der Heyden combined his *Pugillus* with other prints to produce a book of prints depicting the life of a dissipated student, the *Speculum Cornelianum*. *In sich haltent: Viel artiger Figuren betreffent das Leben eines vermeijnden Studenten sampt andern lehrhafften, Vorbildungen. Jetzt auffs neue mit vielen schönen Kupferstücken, sampt der Beschreibung desz Lebens Cornelij Relegati, vermehrt und gebessert* (Many pleasing depictions concerning the life of a supposed student, together with other instructive examples. Newly augmented and improved with many attractive engravings, as well as with the description of the life of Cornelius Relegatus).³⁶ The principal character, the student Cornelius Relegatus, cares little about his studies. Having arrived at university, he undergoes the initiation ritual, which degenerates into a party with fighting and even an arrest. Cornelius could not care less, and continues squandering his money on dancing, drinking and generally causing mayhem. When his money runs out and he has failed to get an education he discovers that no one wants to know him. To crown it all, a young woman shows him his son, whom he had not even known he had sired, and he runs off to join the army. It is only after he has been wounded in battle that he comes to his senses and turns over a new leaf.³⁷

Conclusion

All prints discussed here are intended for an international public. Sharing a pursuit of realism they aim at a maximum of visual information. In spite of these common goals the respective print series had a slightly different function. The informative, but simple etchings of the *Illustrissimi Wirtenbergici ducalis* were a kind of illustrated prospectus of the Collegium on behalf of (prospective) students and

against rashness in affairs of the heart. See Meeus, 'In dees spiegelh', 127–129 and figs. 1, 3–5. There is a copy in the KB (10 G 32).

³⁶ Erman and Horn, *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten*, 827–832 (nr. 17332); Hollstein, *German Engravings*, XIIIa, 186; Meeus, 'In dees spiegelh', 137–138; Kemp, 'Vita Corneliana', 61–62. The Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague), has a facsimile edition made in 1879 after a copy in Strasbourg that has since been lost (1012 F 18).

³⁷ The Berlin engraver Peter Rollo the Elder explored the subject further in his *Philotheca Corneliana sive emblematum novorum* (Frankfurt 1619) and *Vita Corneliana emblematicus in aes artificiose incisa* (Berlin 1624–25), see Hollstein, *German Engravings* XXXV, nrs. 96–153, and Kemp, 'Vita Corneliana', 62–63 and figs. 4–5.

their parents. Swanenburg's monumental and much more costly *Views of Leiden University* was produced especially for visitors, governors and professors of the University of Leiden, and for participants of the Grand Tour. De Passe's *Academia*, the most complete document of the life of students in the early modern period, was not representing one specific institute of higher learning. By making use of the model of an *album amicorum* for a public of youngsters, De Passe not only propagated the benefits of knowledge and learning in general, but also tried to edify his public, so that they would prepare themselves properly and also morally for their future careers.

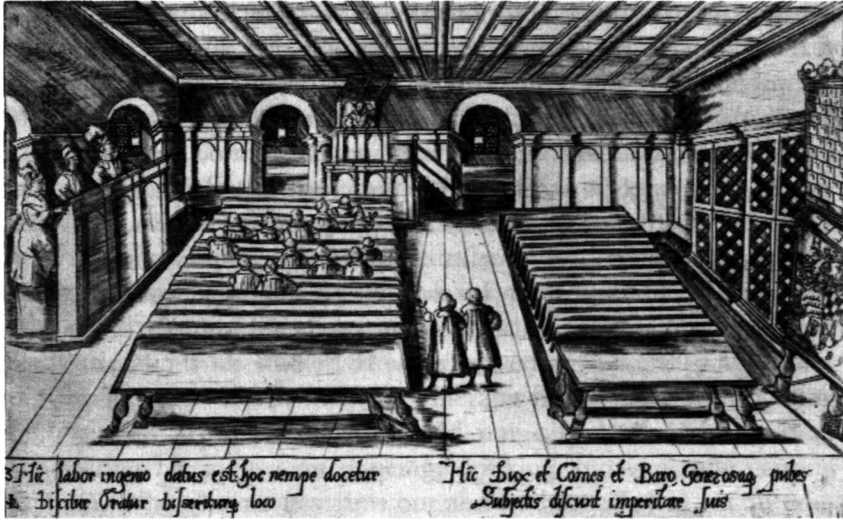


Plate 4.1: Ludwig Ditzinger after Johann Christoph Neyffer, *Lecture hall*, 10.2 × 15.9 cm, etching from *Illustrissimi Württembergici ducalis novi collegii* (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart).

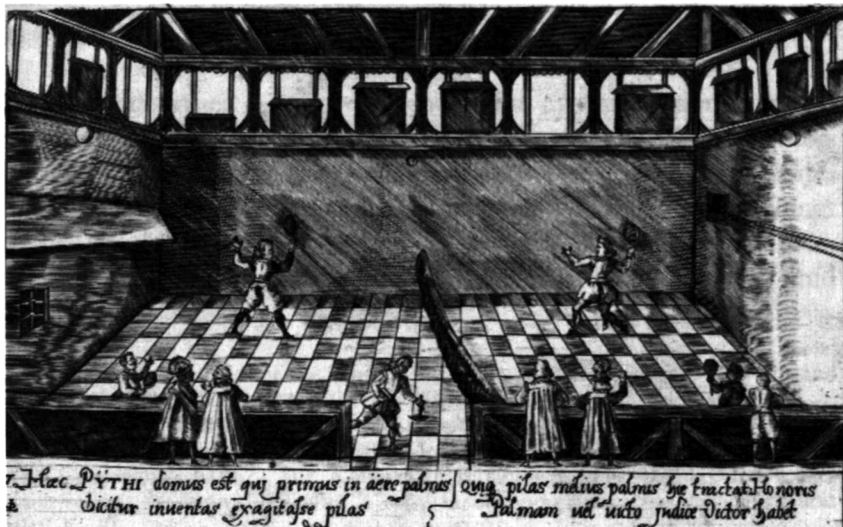


Plate 4.2: Ludwig Ditzinger after Johann Christoph Neyffer, *Tennis court*, 10.4 × 16.2 cm, etching from *Illustrissimi Württembergici ducalis novi collegii* (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart).

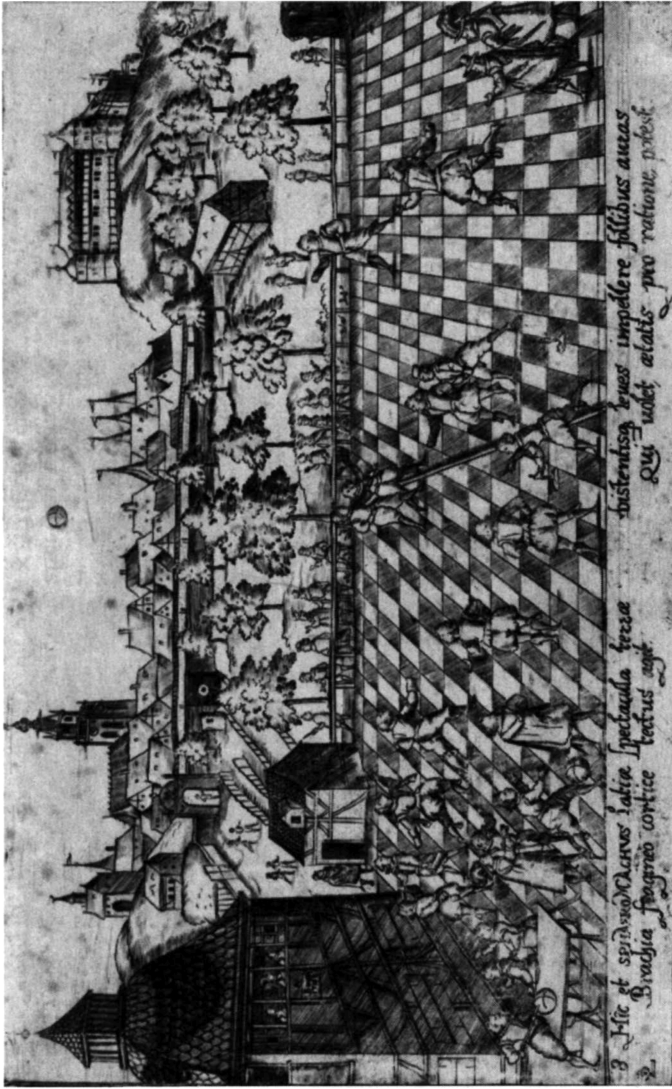


Plate 4.3: Ludwig Ditzinger after Johann Christoph Neuffer, *Game of balloon*, 10.3 × 16.2 cm, etching from *Illustrissimi Wirtembergici ducalis novi collegii* (Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart).

VERA ANATOMIÆ LUGDUNO-BATAVÆ CUM SCELETIS ET RELIQVIS QVÆ IBI EXTANT DELINEATIO.

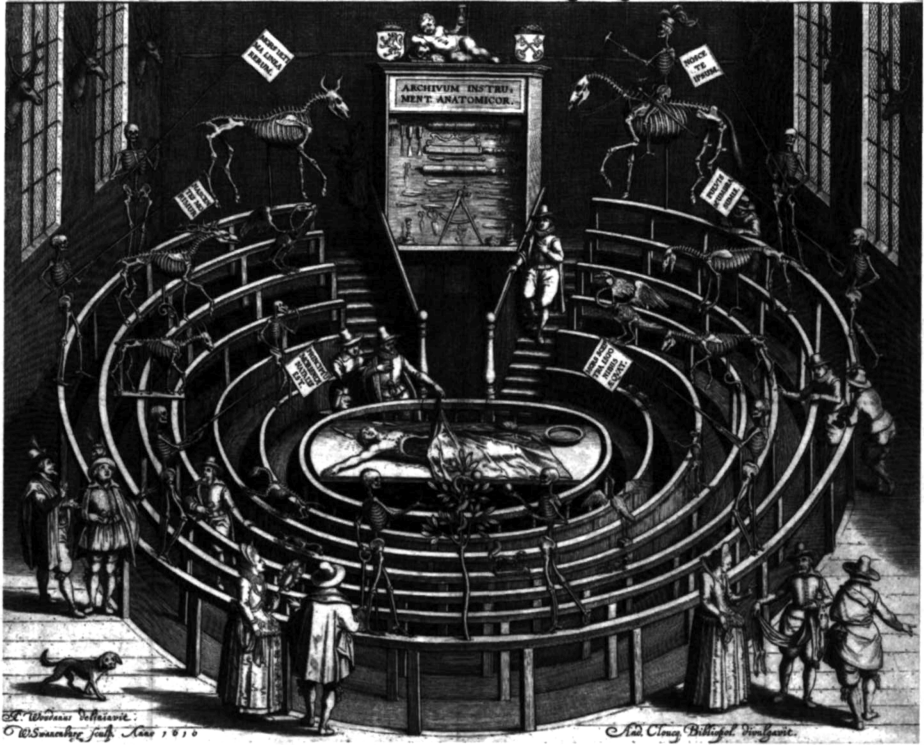


Plate 4.4: Willem van Swanenburg after Jan Cornelis van 't Woud, *The anatomy theatre of Leiden University* (1610), 33.0 × 40.0 cm, engraving (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam).



Plate 4.5: Crispijn de Pässe, *The student leaves home*, 9.7 × 13.1 cm, engraving from *Academia* (1612) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



Plate 4.6: Crispijn de Pässe, *Initiation*, 9.8 × 13.2 cm, engraving from *Academia* (1612) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



Plate 4.7: Title page of *Iudicium reverendi patris D. Doctoris Martini Lutheri, de depositione in Academijs visitata*, Wittenberg 1540 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague).



Plate 4.8: Crispijn de Passè, *The doctorate ceremony*, 9.7 × 13.7 cm, engraving from *Academia* (1612) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



Plate 4.9: Crispijn de Passe, *The invitation to the doctorate ceremony*, 8.9 × 12.2 cm, engraving from *Academia* (1612) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).



Plate 4.10: Crispijn de Passe, *Nocturnal serenade*, 9.6 × 14.0 cm, engraving from *Academia* (1612) (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam).

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